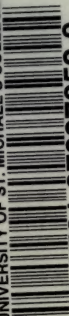
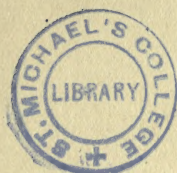



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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JULY 1896.

ART. I.—A REGIUS PROFESSOR ON THE
TRUTHFULNESS OF CATHOLICS.

DR. BRIGHT, the veteran Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, has lately published a book of essays called "The Roman See and the Early Church." * The essay which gives its title to the book takes up about half the volume, and is a "recension and expansion of two articles on the Rev. Luke Rivington's volume 'The Primitive Church and the See of Peter,' " which were contributed to the *Church Quarterly Review* for October, 1894, and January, 1895. The most respected of Anglican ecclesiastical historians sums up (p. 210) against the book he is reviewing and against Catholic controversial literature in general, in the following terms:

In his conclusion Mr. Rivington professes to give us "the verdict of history." Does this phrase come well from one for whom the "verdict" has been dictated before the professed inquiry has commenced? And is it usual to give a verdict before the evidence has been judicially summarised? Of this process there could not be, and there is not, a single trace in our author's volume. His readers soon learn what they have to expect: there is very little relief from the tedious monotony of unproved assumption, unwarranted gloss, and undisguised special pleading.

This is the very accusation which must in fairness be brought against Dr. Bright's essay, as we shall see.

* Longmans. 1896.

No one will doubt that he has written throughout under a sense of religious obligation; but the Roman spirit, when it dominates a writer who is himself a recent proselyte, absorbs all other considerations into the supreme necessity of making out a case for Rome. Judging by the work before us, one could imagine that spirit as saying to such a writer: *Hæ tibi erunt artes, Romane*. No facts in regard to Church history can be for you so certain as is the view of it imposed on the faithful in the Vatican decree of Pius IX. You will therefore read that view into all your documents. You will assume it as in possession of the ground, and throw on opponents the task of proving its absence. Whatever seems to make for it, you will amplify; whatever seems to make against it, you will minimise, or explain away, or ignore. Such words or acts as imply deference you will strain into pledges of submission; such as point rather to independence you will slur over or disparage. You will assume that although Popes may err when not speaking under the conditions of the Vatican decree, yet what they may say about their own rights is practically above question; and that, although they have no immunity from ordinary temptations, they are never betrayed into a love of power for power's sake.* Some generally received rules of literary scrupulosity you will leave to men of the world, or to Protestants, who have no sacred cause to defend *quocumque modo*. Loyalty to Rome will determine how much of a passage or a sentence should be quoted in the text; or how far the reader is to be enabled by footnotes to refer to authorities and to judge of your accuracy. You will deal largely in assertion, and in repetition and reiteration of what has been asserted; you will not be afraid of paradox, in maintaining the genuineness of what has usually been deemed spurious, or the spuriousness of what has usually been deemed genuine.† You will uphold the majesty of the Holy See by an air of superb confidence; you will apply to the defence of the Papal authority the watchword of a great revolutionist, "De l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace!" Such "boldness" suits the Roman genius, and is traditional with those who have best understood Rome.

A Churchman's "verdict," then, on this bold attempt to Vaticanise antiquity must be given with that sincere regret which is due to Mr. Rivington's former and unforgotten services in the promotion of Christian piety, but which cannot be allowed to bar judgment where interests so serious are concerned. The thing furthest from the writer's intention

* On p. 24, note 3, Dr. Bright admits, nay, urges, that "on the Papal hypothesis it would be unfaithfulness to a trust," and not "a part of true charity" for a Pope to keep his name and personality in the background, as did St. Clement. It would further be difficult for Dr. Bright to show where Fr. Rivington has used the witness of a Pope's own words as a palmary argument, except in connection with their acceptance by contemporaries.

† This refers doubtless to Fr. Rivington's doubts as to the genuineness of the letter on Apiarius. Though I cannot say that I share his opinion, yet Dr. Bright must allow that he has given references and authorities (p. 474-5). Dr. Bright (p. 138) does not explain the wrong date given for Easter in St. Cyril's letter. The whole subject was elaborately argued in the DUBLIN REVIEW, July, 1890, pp. 100-109.

would be to do him any injustice; nor is it needful to dwell on specimens of lax scholarship or false logic, or the too frequent absence of all references, or on the recurrence of references taken at second-hand or misunderstood*—a sure evidence of superficiality, of what may be called unreal knowledge. Such things might be complained of on literary grounds, if it were worth while. But graver issues are raised by a publication which is obviously part of a new Roman campaign against the English Church and the Churches in communion with her. It is a mere duty to speak plainly of the most untrustworthy presentation of a great period of history which has ever come under the writer's notice. There is no difficulty in understanding the influences which have determined its character; and the inevitable conclusion is that, so far from attracting any thoughtful Anglicans to Papalism,† it will but confirm their antagonism to a system which employs—and requires—such methods of support.

This is indeed very smart writing, and we know that anything is permitted by good form when directed against a Papist. On that ground, therefore, no exception can be taken. It is a particularly good point to admit as to a "recent proselyte" that he was once an honourable man, so as to emphasise all the more that he is now an outcast from society, and unworthy to be believed on oath.

One is happy to be able to accept a part of Dr. Bright's description of Fr. Rivington's historical method. Doubtless he does accept his view of history from the Church, and afterwards attempt to prove it. And so would Dr. Bright, if it were (for instance) a question of the authenticity of the synoptic gospels. He would be confident that he could prove their authenticity from history, but he would accept it, with their inspiration, on the authority of the Church. No facts in regard to their history could be so certain as the view imposed upon him by the Church of their inspiration; just as for Fr. Rivington: "No facts in regard to Church history can be so certain as is the view of it imposed on the faithful in the Vatican decree." There is no difference between these two statements as far as their logic is concerned. Both of them seem equally reasonable and defensible to a Catholic; both o

* Twice Dr. Bright complains of mistaken references on Fr. Rivington's part; but of references *proved* to be second-hand or misunderstood he gives no instance. So much for "unproved assertion."

† The book in question has, on the contrary, been of great use in making converts.

them appear equally unreasonable and unhistorical to a German critic.

But Canon Bright seems to be unconscious that he also "imposes" views on history; and that, not on the authority of the Church, nor of twelve hundred bishops and of two hundred millions of consenting Christians, but purely on his own authority and that of some few of his friends. He has lived for many years in a hot-house atmosphere of high church views at Oxford; and he has been so much accustomed to read those views into history that he now believes he found them there originally.* He therefore "reads his own view into all his documents," as he has said of Fr. Rivington. He "assumes its possession of the ground," though it is obviously a modern theory; and "throws on opponents the task of proving its absence." "Whatever seems to make for it he amplifies; whatever seems to make against it he minimises, or explains away, or ignores. *Hæ tibi sunt artes,*" *Anglicane!*

Far be it from me to apply to Dr. Bright the rest of the passage: "Some generally received rules," &c. (I do not care to quote such a sentence twice over). Such insinuations are not *Romance artes*; they are the particular privilege of Protestant controversialists. To take away the character of the "plaintiff's attorney" by hints and side-winds would not pay when refuting the learned arguments of an agnostic critic; on the contrary, the sympathies of the reader might be enlisted on the side of the accused. But against a Catholic there is no such danger.

And if Dr. Bright does not openly say (as he might have dared to do some years ago), that St. Alphonsus teaches lying to be justifiable, and that the Church of Rome has formally approved this doctrine; yet the same thing can be cautiously insinuated by referring to a once famous article in the "Christian Remembrancer" for January, 1854 (p. 131). Perhaps the brilliant answer of the DUBLIN REVIEW† may be not quite forgotten, though Dr. Bright doubtless has never heard of it. Yet he may not have totally forgotten another

* Some people may be said to have found these views in history, because their study corrected the Protestant misconceptions with which they started just up to this point and no more.

† December, 1854, by Manning.

controversy, in which Charles Kingsley received a rather sharp rap on the knuckles; though the gentle charity of the conqueror tried to suppress all record of the victory.

I repeat that I do not charge Canon Bright with dishonesty, and that I leave such charges to Anglicans. I am quite sure that there is much more material to support such an accusation in his book than there is in Father Rivington's much larger volume. Nevertheless I am entirely certain that Dr. Bright is perfectly candid, and has "written throughout under" some sort of a "sense of religious obligation."* For years he has been accustomed to accuse Catholics of untruthfulness, and to see falsehood in every line of their writings, till the habit of mind has become a second nature. Their language seems to him to be full of self-assertion, while his own is that of grave dignity and remonstrance. But we do not always see ourselves as others do see us, and the Regius Professor will be astounded to hear that to even some readers his book seems to have in it more assertions than proof, more rudeness than argument, and that it abounds beyond measure in those faults of exaggeration and suppression with which he charges his adversary in every page.

Such charges can be proved only by evidence. Dr. Bright has written 213 pages without substantiating his side of the accusation. But such a mass of examples together with an adequate retaliation can obviously find no place in this article. Enough, therefore, if I give one or two striking examples of Dr. Bright's curiously unfair methods of controversy; premising only that I am certain he believed himself to be at

* I have no mission to defend Fr. Rivington, who is quite able to defend himself. If he is really such a poor scholar, what must Dr. Bright be, who is obviously not his match in knowledge of the subject? But he has given an advantage to the Anglican Professor which the latter has not been slow to seize. "The Primitive Church and the See of Peter" was in reality an answer to Mr. Puller's book with nearly the same title; but Fr. Rivington rightly preferred to give his work a constructive rather than a destructive form. Now, in a constructive history, it is allowable and natural to trace in lesser events a tendency which is proved by great events, to reinforce by probable arguments what has been proved by certain arguments, to illustrate by slight indications what is also proved by clear traces; and this Fr. Rivington has constantly done. But in a controversial work it is more prudent to keep entirely within the bounds of what is certain and clear. For if we reinforce certainties by probabilities, our adversaries' tactics will be to produce an apparent rout of these probabilities by merely showing that they are not certainties, while he treats them as our principal arguments. He will then glide lightly over the certainties, and claim a triumphant victory. And this is what Dr. Bright has constantly done.

once judicial and polite in each instance. Rather than pick out the choicest morsels from all parts of the book, I give a series of instances, taken from a few pages near the beginning, of strong language on Dr. Bright's part, unjustified by argument. The italics are in each case mine.

1. P. 27. "A presidency of love" in St. Ignatius "*has been absurdly strained*" in treating "love" as a synonym for "the whole Christian community." The Protestant spirit while suggesting to Dr. Bright to "deal largely in assertion," has not withal suggested arguments. I may refer him to an excellent essay by Funk (distinct from the notes in his edition of St. Ignatius referred to by Dr. Bright), in *Historisch-politische Blätter* for 1882, and to Hagemann, *die römische Kirche*, 1864, p. 688. Besides *προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης* could not mean "a presidency of love," but "a presidency in love."

2. P. 34. "*I pass over, as really too absurd for serious treatment, the assumption that 'in' means here 'in communion with or subjection to'*"—That is, in the famous passage of St. Irenæus "*in qua semper,*" &c. Now the Catholic authors who support this absurd statement include, amongst dozens of others, such names as Dom Massuet, Bossuet, Pietro Ballerini, in the past—in this century, Schneemann, Freppel, Franzelin. Which of these does Dr. Bright despise as his inferior? His own explanation was held indeed by Neander, but is best known as having been taken up by Döllinger (in the place of the "too absurd assumption" which he had taught earlier) for controversial purposes, seized by Friedrich and Langen, and popularised in England, as an answer to Fr. Rivington, by Canon Gore and Mr. Puller. It was rejected by the serious Protestant editors Harvey, Thiersch, Griesbach, and lately by Harnack. These all give another interpretation which Dr. Bright does not mention. "*De l'audace, encore de l'audace.*"

3. P. 35, note. "*It is futile to evade the force*" of an expression of St. Gregory of Nazianzum by referring to his language in another place. What is this "force"? St. Gregory says (in Canon Bright's words) that the Catholics who went to Constantinople "*bring their own orthodoxy, and take back, so to speak, her witness in its confirmation.*" Dr. Bright, like Langen and Puller, thinks this is a parallel for

what he makes St. Irenæus say, viz., that those who come from all sides to Rome preserve in that church the doctrine of the Apostles. To an ordinary reader it would seem that the two ideas are contraries, not parallels. To confirm the faith of Rome by going there is not quite the same as to get your faith confirmed by going to Constantinople. The nonsense of the former statement is not glossed over by the sense of the latter, but is shown up by the contrast.

So much for the "force" of the illustration. As to the "futile" evasion, by which I know not who might wish to escape from the above cogent parallel, why does not Dr. Bright quote the point of the passage which is most important as a parallel to Irenæus, on the inerrancy of Rome? "*ἡ μὲν ἦν ἐκ πλεόνος, καὶ νῦν ἔτ' ἐστὶν εὐδρομος, τὴν ἐσπέραν Πᾶσαν δέουσα τῷ σωτηρίῳ λόγῳ*" (*de Vita Sua*, L. 562). "Loyalty to your cause will determine how much of a passage or a sentence should be quoted in the text."

4. P. 43. "*A fraud like this requires no comment*"—the famous interpolated passage of St. Cyprian, to wit. Why is it a fraud? "*Primatus Petro datur*" is a statement which St. Cyprian would not deny, nor Canon Bright; and he has quoted "*primatum se habere*" on the preceding page, and will quote "*ecclesia principalis*" of Rome on the next. "*Qui cathedram Petri deserit . . . in ecclesia se esse confidit*," can be explained by Dr. Bright, if he wishes, as "the episcopate" (*cf.* pp. 46–47), and surely "*cathedra una*" will give him no more difficulty in this place than in the other places of Cyprian where it occurs. The words "*pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis*" are omitted in *only one* MS., and, so far as I know, in no "Papalist" edition. The interpolations were obviously from marginal notes, and no fraud, and they are as old as Pelagius II. A more serious "fraud" which "requires comment" (of course it was unintentional), is to be found on the next page, where Dr. Bright in "explaining away" the words "*ad Petri cathedram et ad ecclesiam principalem unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est*," omits to quote or explain the remainder of the sentence, which is perhaps a reminiscence of St. Irenæus: "*nec cogitare eos Romanos esse quorum fides Apostolo prædicante laudata est, ad quos perfidia non possit habere accessum.*"

P. 45. "To suppose that St. Cyprian viewed Rome as the mother of all churches would be to make him talk sheer nonsense." Doubtless, if mother is taken in the sense of founder. But is not this sheer nonsense also: "Anyhow, the 'Episcopal unity' is said to arise out of that Church, because Cyprian, rightly or not, regarded it as the mother of Western churches"? He may have done this, though he nowhere says so; but he does obviously connect, in the passage above quoted, the "origin of sacerdotal unity" with the "chair of Peter," and Dr. Bright knows very well that St. Cyprian's doctrine of unity is always founded on St. Peter. But St. Peter only "illustrates" unity, according to him; while an exact translation of "*Petri cathedra, ecclesia principalis, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est Romanos, ad quos perfidia non possit habere accessum,*" might suggest that Peter, his successors and his Church, were more than the picture of unity—the centre of it, and as such, exempt from doctrinal error. So Dr. Bright invents for St. Cyprian a historical theory, "with an air of superb confidence." "Anyhow," he begins, as if no one could say he was rash or wrong.

P. 47. "There is not, in fact, one word in all St. Cyprian's correspondence on Roman Church affairs which will admit of being interpreted in a Papal sense." The spirit of controversy has whispered, "You will not be afraid of paradox." And, indeed, "such boldness is traditional with those who have best understood" how to deal with unpleasant facts which make for Catholic doctrine.

Surely the reader will be anxious to be spared an analysis of all Dr. Bright's two hundred pages. The specimens I have given are not specially chosen, but they are characteristic of the rest. Instead of lengthening my list, I will close with one passage which illustrates at once apparent "literary unscrupulosity" and "lax logic," together with a want of ordinary courtesy with which Dr. Bright has been fortunately unable to charge Father Rivington:

But we must give full prominence to our author's daring, and twice repeated, defence of "*Roma locuta est, causa finita est,*" as no more than "the exact equivalent" of certain words of St. Augustine. What words? He gives a fair enough translation of "*Jam enim de hac causa [i.e., Pelagianism] duo concilia missa sunt ad sedem Apostolicam: inde etiam*

rescripta venerunt: causa finita est." He tells us that it has been "customary" to represent the words which we have italicised by the formula in question, which he describes as doing them full justice, although it gives no hint whatever of the purport of what precedes them as to the reports of two councils, to which Rome's utterance was a reply. So then, to suppress one of the elements in a process, and to ascribe the whole result to the other, is, in Roman eyes, a "customary" and a legitimate way of using a document for a controversial end. In Anglican eyes it is a scandalous offence against truth, and one of a numerous class of "signs" against Rome (p. 130).

(A note follows which has been already referred to, charging Romanists with delighting in lies and forgeries, with the characteristic conclusion: "It is needless to dwell on such cases.")

A child would see that a "cause" is "finished" by the last "element of the process," not by the first. So much for "lax logic."

But of course "*causa finita est*" does refer secondarily to the former "element," since an answer would not have come from Rome if the conciliar decisions had not been sent. But what advantage does that give to Dr. Bright? He seems to think that St. Augustine means: The cause was finished—first, by two provincial councils condemning Pelagius and Celestius, and secondly, by Rome agreeing with them. St. Augustine might have said this. But he does not. He says that the cause has been finished *by the decrees being sent to the Apostolic See,** and by rescripts having been sent back. If this is not

* Now for explaining away, ignoring, slurring over, absence of all references. The two councils themselves wrote and asked for a sort of confirmation. Compare Canon Bright's account, on p. 127, with their own words, of which he quotes but a few phrases. That of Proconsular Africa in its letter to the Pope asks "That to the statutes of our littleness may be added the authority of the Apostolic See;" and says that "The error ought to be anathematised by the authority of the Apostolic See," and adds that doubtless Innocent will "make a judgment such that all may rejoice in the mercy of God." That of Numidia writes in the same strain; the heretics "will more easily cede to the authority of your Holiness, which is taken from that of the Sacred Scriptures." Dr. Bright would like this to mean that his teaching is sure to be based on the Scriptural grounds to which the Council has just been referring. But the Numidians must mean the same by authority as did their brethren at Carthage in the former extract. A letter from St. Augustine and four other Bishops accompanied those of the councils. Dr. Bright does not quote its concluding passage. He does quote a few words from the tremendously Papal *rescripta* of Innocent, but he implies that the Africans rejected those claims. On the contrary, they continually quoted and referred to them as final decisions, and St. Augustine writes to no less a person than St. Paulinus of Nola, not (as Dr. Bright says, p. 130, note) that Innocent replied *ad omnia* in a manner worthy

giving "Roma locuta est" as the sole reason of "causa finita est," I only ask, what else can be meant by it? But, alas! when the controversial "spirit dominates a writer," it "absorbs all other considerations into the supreme necessity of making out a case" for Anglicanism.

DOM JOHN CHAPMAN, O.S.B.

of the Bishop of the Apostolic See, but "eo modo quo *fas erat atque oportebat* Apostolicæ Sedis Antistitem," which means nothing less than "in the way in which it was *allowable and proper*," or "*his right and his duty to do*" (Ep. 186).

How is Dr. Bright to be excused from a least culpable carelessness with regard to so famous a text, and of rash judgment against his neighbour? I do not know, but at all events I do not suspect him of wilfully committing a "scandalous offence against truth," as I know the force of prejudice, and it is easy to see that he has forgotten the details of the Pelagian controversy, or he would know that not only successive Popes, but St. Augustine often, the Milanese deacon Paulinus, the friends of St. Augustine, Marius Mercator and Prosper, again and again affirm the principle involved in the famous phrase which Dr. Bright finds so unendurable.

I give just a few references; Aug., *de Pecc. orig.*, vii., a letter of the council of Carthage to Zosimus quoted by Prosper c. *Coll.* 10, the *libellus* of Paulinus and part of the *Commonitorium* of Marius Mercator both in the appendix to Aug. vol. x., many expressions of Prosper, cf. *contra Coll.* c. 5, 10, 21, &c., *Chron.*, p. 740 (591), &c.

Of course Dr. Bright may treat these references in the same way that he treats the statements of St. Cyprian (p. 39, *seq.*), St. Optatus (p. 116), St. Jerome (p. 106), the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon (pp. 159, 163-4, 205). It is a treatment which reminds me irresistibly of the way in which my tutor at Oxford used to treat philosophers of all countries and races. After discussing some one of their tenets, he habitually observed, slowly and meditatively: "Beautiful, beautiful—it's all poetry." And then, after a pause, "*He didn't mean it!*" So when writers of antiquity say something too "ultramontane" for Dr. Bright's ears, he explains it away—it is poetry, rhetoric, he didn't mean it!

ART. II.—A REGIUS PROFESSOR ON THE ROMAN SEE.

DR. BRIGHT, fresh from a crusade against the indissolubility of the marriage tie, in which he showed how much learning could be devoted to the cause of heresy, has come forward as the champion of Anglicanism against the supremacy and infallibility of the See of Peter. His essay of 213 pages on "The Roman See in the Early Church" takes the form of an attack upon a work called "The Primitive Church and the See of Peter," published in 1894, in which the author endeavours to show that Papal supremacy as understood by the Vatican decree existed in the earliest times of the Christian Church.

Dr. Bright commences with a grave misrepresentation as to the Vatican Council itself. He asserts (p. 5) on Mr. Ward's authority, that "a certain 'historical introduction to the decree,' designed to re-assure certain minds by recognising the consultative function of the Church as preparatory to a Papal definition, was not published until twenty years later," and he adds that this "is very characteristic of Roman policy." Mr. Ward (needless to say) says no such thing. But the extraordinary part of the matter is that here is Dr. Bright professing to write against the Vatican decrees, and exhibiting ignorance as to a vital part of the decree concerning Papal Infallibility. The "historical introduction" is given by Mr. Ward almost in full on the page to which Dr. Bright refers, and it is part of the Dogmatic Constitution *De Ecclesiâ* promulgated at St. Peter's, Rome, on July 18, 1870. It passed straight from Pio Nono's hands to those of Mgr. Valenziani, and was read out loud in the Council by the latter at once, and has appeared in every authorised edition of the Vatican decrees ever since. Such a blunder as this raises the question: Is Dr. Bright qualified to write on the subject of the Vatican Council when he did not even recognise such an important sentence in its decrees, but made its supposed non-publication a ground of accusation against "Roman policy?" In point of fact, as we shall see,

this very sentence of the "Dogmatic Constitution" of the Vatican Council needs to be ignored before there can be any sense in Dr. Bright's disproof of Infallibility as derived from the history of the Nicene Council.

Such is the opening of the attack. The conclusion is not less remarkable. Dr. Bright concludes his assault with enunciating a principle which would be fatal to the value of most scientific treatises. He objects that the writer whom he opposes has no right to speak of his conclusion as "the verdict of history" *because* that conclusion was already held by him to be true. "Does this phrase," he asks, "come well from one for whom the 'verdict' has been dictated before the professed inquiry has commenced?" (p. 210). On the same principle, if we have been taught anything by the Church and proceed to prove it from Holy Scripture, the value of our Scriptural proof would (according to Dr. Bright) be discounted by the mere fact that the Church had already imposed on us the truth of the thesis. We are impelled to ask: Did Dr. Bright start his inquiry with no belief in the Anglican theory? Considering that he receives at least £1000 a year, and the dignity of a Canonry at Christ Church Cathedral, on the understanding that he upholds the Anglican, and not the Papal, theory of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, is it possible to suppose that Dr. Bright has been in such a curious state of mind as to pursue his investigations without any belief in Anglicanism?

Now, a Catholic writer does enter upon his historical investigation with his conclusion as to Papal supremacy already formed in his mind by the action (as he believes) of the Holy Ghost. He may not be certain whether he can show *from history* that this or that period, or series of incidents, contains evidence sufficient by itself to establish the truth. But he is quite certain of his position. For instance, he may or may not be able to show from ancient documents that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome, but he knows that he *was* Bishop of Rome with a higher certainty than can be derived from mere historical investigations. On considering the records or documents, he may or may not tamper with them; but if he does, it is not due to his presupposition, but to his disingenuousness in attempting to support that presupposition by ill-considered arguments. But, Dr. Bright considers that such a belief as a

Catholic has in Papal supremacy unfits him for the investigation of historical records. We do not see why, except on the supposition that Dr. Bright's belief in Anglicanism equally unfits himself, unless Dr. Bright is prepared to say, "But *I* never give way to the temptation of perpetrating logical fallacies, or misquotation, or of translating as best suits my purpose."

There is, certainly, one temptation to which Dr. Bright does most lamentably succumb, and it is that of a very *de haut en bas* tone towards those with whom he disagrees. The Abbé Duchesne says that St. Clement in his letter to the Church at Corinth *écrit déjà comme un Pape*. Dr. Bright says this is due to "nothing but the strongest kind of preconception" (p. 24). Père Gratry was quoted by Dr. Bright ("Waymarks," p. 241) as that "noble and truth-loving priest." Now that Dr. Bright has discovered that he submitted to the Vatican decree, Gratry is insincere ("Roman See," p. 5, note). The Ballerini give a scholarly translation of a certain word, which does not suit Dr. Bright's theory. He says they do it "naturally from their standpoint," *i.e.*, pure prejudice (p. 180). St. Innocent I., according to our author, "in true Roman fashion, was interpreting an application as broadly as suited him, and adding a broad assertion to match" (p. 129). St. Zosimus "uses language about his own See, which, if challenged, he could not possibly have supported by evidence," is Dr. Bright's complacent estimate of his own historical acumen (p. 134). St. Augustine knew less about the history in which he was himself engaged than Dr. Bright does, so at least Dr. Bright tells us—or he counts among the falsifiers of evidence (p. 135). Pope St. Nicolas I. argued, according to Dr. Bright, "disingenuously" (p. 79), in a matter in which Cardinal Newman has shown by anticipation that Dr. Bright's history is quite at fault ("Newman's Essays Critical and Historical," Vol. II. p. 328). Such is the position assumed by Dr. Bright towards saints and doctors, scholars living and dead.

It will be our business to show that this superlative position is not one to which Dr. Bright can justly lay claim. And here we are met with the difficulty of selection; for it is the plain truth to say that not one of the arguments advanced by Dr. Bright on the important points at issue can be acquitted of logical incompleteness. We will, therefore, select only two

points, which Dr. Bright has himself emphasised as of primary import. They are these: (1) Dr. Bright's treatment of the subject of the Petrine Episcopate, and (2) the disproof of Papal Infallibility supposed to be derived from the history of the Arian struggle and the mere fact of the Nicene Council having been assembled.

I. Dr. Bright begins, in reference to St. Peter, with a very cursory glance at Holy Scripture, in which he repeats the argument *ex silentio*, which was first used against the Petrine supremacy by certain Dutch Protestants. Papal supremacy, he says, "must (*sic*) have found expression in Apostolic writings." But it is not found, so he thinks, in the Acts of the Apostles, or the Epistles of St. Paul. Therefore, it did not exist. Those of our readers who are acquainted with Mr. Allies' work, "St. Peter, his Name and Office," will find it hard to realise the state of mind which can dismiss the Scriptural argument with this bold assertion. They will remember that St. Peter stands out in the first half of the Acts in a way which again and again *suggests* that he had taken the place of our Lord in the government of the kingdom founded by Him. The fact is, that considering on the one hand the plain account in the Gospels of the appointment of St. Peter to be the chief ruler of the Church under Christ, and, on the other hand, the purpose for which the Acts appear to have been written, more is said about Peter than one might have considered necessary. One purpose for which the Acts appear to have been written by St. Luke was that of upholding the authority of St. Paul, whose Apostolate had been questioned and indeed denied. The book is not a narrative of "the Acts" of the Apostles, but merely of "Acts" (there is no definite article in the Greek title). It consists of a selection for a purpose. It was to bring out the genuine Apostleship of St. Paul, not as against, or in contrast with, St. Peter, but as against those who would not place him amongst the twelve. There is, therefore, no reason to expect this or that feature of the government to be emphasised, except so far as it would bear upon the purpose of the book.

Further, and still more evidently, the book of the Acts, was written to show the extension of the Church amongst the Gentiles. Consequently, St. Peter comes prominently for-

ward, in certain aspects of his work, and becomes, indeed, for a while the central figure of the narrative; but not so much in order to show his position in the government of the Church generally, as to show how the Church grew from Jerusalem to the Gentile world. In other words, the exceedingly prominent part which he took entered into the first part of the narrative, because it was, as a matter of fact, the function of the "key-bearer" to open the kingdom of Heaven to the Gentile world, as well as to govern it to the end of time through his successors. It was no part of St. Luke's purpose to emphasise the latter point, nor was it needed, for it cannot be shown that it was ever doubted.

So that Dr. Bright makes a most illegitimate use of the argument from silence. Indeed, he so far commits himself to it, that we do not see how he would meet the Unitarian argument, that Our Lord never used the actual expression "I am God," and yet that, considering the momentous importance of the truth on the Christian hypothesis, it was necessary that He should have said this, and thus closed the question.

We have assumed for the moment that there are plain terms in which our Lord appointed St. Peter to be the ruler of His Church. Dr. Bright, of course, will challenge this statement. Let us see how he meets the argument derived from our Lord's words to Peter, "I will give thee the keys," &c. He says that this "is explained by Isa. xxii. 22" ("Rom. See," p. 29, note 1). We wonder whether Dr. Bright is aware that St. Francis of Sales refers to this same passage in *Isaias*, and draws from it an opposite conclusion. But listen to Dr. Bright: "From this passage it is clear that 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom' is equivalent to 'I will make thee My steward.'" Let us turn to the passage. The prophet is first bidden to tell Shebna (Sobna) that Eliakim is to succeed him as the king's palace-prefect (vv. 15, 19, 20). And it is in describing the appointment of Eliakim that the words occur, to which Dr. Bright refers, "And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder, so he shall open and none shall shut; and he shall shut and none shall open." In the previous verse, Shebna is told with regard to Eliakim, "I will commit *thy government* into his hand, and he shall be a *father* to the inhabitants of Jerusalem," and in the succeeding verse it is said,

“And he shall be for a glorious *throne* to his father’s house.” So that, according to this prophecy, which Dr. Bright rightly refers to St. Peter, that Apostle was (1) to occupy the place of the prefect of the king’s palace, (2) to have jurisdiction, (3) to be a father, and (4) to reign—in fact, to be the first Pope. And so to him, and to him alone, it was said by our Lord, “I will give thee the keys of the kingdom.”

But, says Dr. Bright, it only means, “I will make thee My steward,” and then he proceeds, “Either, therefore, the keys were not to be held exclusively by St. Peter” (which he pretends is the Roman theory), “or the other Apostles were not stewards, which is absurd.” It is an ominous beginning thus to misrepresent the “Roman theory,” which he professes to attack. Where does the Vatican decree teach that St. Peter held the keys so exclusively *as that the other Apostles were not stewards*? St. Francis of Sales, after adducing the same passage from Isaias, and after drawing a distinction between *having* the keys, which was promised to St. Peter alone, and *having the exercise* of the same, which was promised also to the rest, and which expresses the relationship between the head steward and the other stewards, says :

This difference is taken from the very terms of the Scripture : for to “loose and bind” signifies only the action and exercise, whilst to “have the keys” signifies the habit. . . . See how different is the promise which our Lord made to St. Peter from that which he made to the other Apostles. The Apostles all have the same power as St. Peter, but not in the same rank. . . . St. Peter has it as ordinary head and permanent officer (Cath. Controv. Eng. Tr. 1886, p. 256).

But let us turn from Biblical exegesis to ecclesiastical history, of which Dr. Bright is Regius Professor. What are his arguments against the episcopate of St. Peter at Rome? It has been said with reference to this whole question of the episcopate of St. Peter, that “a vast deal of more or less learned dust has been raised on the point;” and the same writer very forcibly describes “the natural position of an Apostle residing in a Church, either permanently or for a notable period of time.”* “That an Apostle, wherever he

* “Bishop Lightfoot and the Early Roman See,” by Dom. Cuthbert Butler, O.S.B., DUBLIN REVIEW, October, 1893.

was, would ordain to the ministry can hardly need formal proof." Dr. Bright himself, if we understand him rightly, does not deny that St. Peter ordained Linus, let us suppose, if he pleases, together with St. Paul, but still, according to Dr. Bright's own theory, as *primus inter pares*. If, then, St. Peter stayed any notable time at Rome and ordained, he so far acted as bishop. And "by the very nature of things the Apostle would be the teacher and guide of the community in which he lived. . . . In a word, he would be the source and centre of all authority and spiritual power, the chief and immediate pastor of the flock." In other words, he would exercise the episcopal office, with this distinction, that in his case the Apostolic prerogatives were added to the episcopal. St. Peter, then, on the "Papal" hypothesis, was both Apostle and bishop; and the See was both established and occupied by him, whether with or without St. Paul, does not affect our present point.

Next comes one who was bishop without being one of the twelve, and he was appointed by the common action of the two Apostles. They handed to him (*ἐνεχείρισαν*) the ministry of the episcopate, says St. Irenæus. This was Linus. Linus, therefore, became the first bishop after the Apostles; the first, that is, who exercised the episcopal office in Rome without being one of the twelve. He could, therefore, be designated *either* the first after Peter, or the first bishop after Peter and Paul died, in a separate list (if we consider him in conjunction with those that followed), and at the head of that list, *or* the second who exercised episcopal functions in Rome, if we think of St. Peter, whether with or without St. Paul, as ordaining, taking the lead in teaching, and in the assemblies for worship, which he undoubtedly did. And the ordinary way of speaking of Linus would be to call him the first after Peter, or after Peter and Paul, placing those who were numbered with the twelve by themselves, *not* as excluding them from episcopal functions, but because they had in addition a function of their own in regard to the revealed deposit. But he might also be called the second bishop of Rome. Now St. Irenæus does reckon him as the second bishop of Rome, for he calls Hyginus the ninth, when first he mentions the succession of the bishops of Rome ("Hær." i. 27, 1). And there were only seven between Hyginus and St. Peter.

How does Dr. Bright answer this? He draws a distinction between founding the bishopric and occupying it, which (if St. Peter stayed at Rome any time) is a distinction without a difference. He then argues from the expression which St. Irenæus uses in regard to Clement, viz., "in the third place from the Apostles." He says, "Here, then, the phrase 'from the Apostles,' excludes either Apostle from 'the Episcopal' list." This is not good reasoning. The phrase excludes the bishop from the list of Apostles, not *vice versâ*. William Rufus was the first king "from the Conqueror;" this excludes him from the position of Conqueror, not the Conqueror from the position of king.

Next Dr. Bright quotes a passage ("Hær." iii. 3) in which Hyginus is reckoned, though not actually called, the eighth from the Apostles. He speaks of it as a "definite catalogue." But there is more that is definite about Hyginus in particular in the previous passage (iv. 11), where Hyginus is called ninth bishop, including St. Peter. And there was a reason why, in iii. 3, Irenæus should put the bishops by themselves, for he had expressly said (iii. 3, 1) that he is treating of "the successors whom the Apostles left behind them, and to whom they delivered their own post of government" (*cf.* "Roman Claims," by Bernard Vaughan, S.J., p. 41).

Next Dr. Bright appeals to the Latin version in one passage. But we have the Greek original, and, therefore, to use his own words six pages further on, "Since we have the Greek here we need not lay stress on translations" ("Roman See," p. 17).

His conclusion is marvellous, "On the whole, then, it is clear that the 'Petrine Episcopate' receives no attestation from Irenæus!" No attestation! when Irenæus twice calls Hyginus the ninth Bishop of Rome, thus including St. Peter in the number of bishops.

Next we come to Tertullian, who speaks of Clement as having been ordained by Peter. This is awkward for Dr. Bright's position. It omits St. Paul. But Dr. Bright thinks that the context shows that anyhow Tertullian did not regard Peter as the first bishop. Dr. Bright, however, here perpetrates a *petitio principii*, for he assumes that a first bishop "appointed and preceded by an Apostle or an Apostolic man, excludes the Apostle or Apostolic man from the list of bishops,"

which is the point to be proved. Lightfoot, on the contrary, is opposed to Dr. Bright's assumption, and says that here Tertullian "presumably regards Clement as the Apostle's own successor in the Episcopate." And now what are we to say of the rest of the sentence? Dr. Bright says, "The relation of Clement to St. Peter is paralleled by the relation of Polycarp to St. John, so that as far as this passage goes, St. Peter was no more Bishop of Rome than St. John was Bishop of Smyrna" (p. 12). But if Dr. Bright would only have quoted the words, it would be seen that Tertullian actually suggests a distinction between the relation of St. John to Polycarp, and that of St. Peter to Clement, and the distinction for the matter in hand is vital. He says that "the Church of the Smyrnæans relates that Polycarp was *placed* [there] by John;" and that "the Church of the Romans relates that Clement was *ordained* by Peter in the same place," *i.e.* at Rome. That is to say, Tertullian (1) actually emphasises the *ordination* of Clement by St. Peter, and (2) avoids using the word "placed" about St. Clement, which might imply that he was the *immediate* successor of St. Peter, instead of being the third. Bishop Moorhouse boldly translated "*collocatum*" (the word used of St. John's action towards Polycarp) "*ordained*," and so obscured the distinction. Dr. Bright does not translate, but practically misquotes Tertullian. And be it noted that Tertullian does not compare the Church of Smyrna with the Roman Church; it is not "as" and "so," but "as" Smyrna and "as" Rome, two examples of how the Apostolical Churches handed on their lists with their separate relationships.

But (as we have said) that Tertullian should speak of Peter only, in connection with the Roman bishop Clement, is naturally a difficulty to Dr. Bright. It is evidence, and what is to be done with it? Dr. Bright thinks that this mention of Peter by himself "suggests" that Tertullian "had got hold of a story which—perhaps at a later period—was embodied in the spurious 'Epistle of Clement to James,' to the effect that Peter, at the close of his own life, laid his hands on Clement and made him bishop" (p. 12).

To whom does Tertullian's witness "suggest" this? Why should it suggest anything of the kind? Where is the diffi-

culty (except on the Anglican hypothesis) of believing that Tertullian had good grounds for making his statement? And what is the nature of the suggestion? It requires us to hold that Rufinus "may have been mistaken as to the date of the letter," for Rufinus makes it too late for Dr. Bright's purposes, but (adds Dr. Bright) even if the latter "had only come to Rome with the Recognitions" [*i.e.* after Tertullian wrote], still "the statement that 'Peter placed Clement in his own chair,' might well have been current in some 'first draft' of the story" (p. 12, note 2).

This, then, is the situation. There is not a tittle of positive evidence for the appearance of the Clementine romance in Rome or the letter of Clement to St. James, before Tertullian gave the belief of the Church of the Romans that Peter ordained Clement. We must, therefore, suppose something. Rufinus may have been mistaken. A statement "might well have been current in some first draft of the story." Mark the convenience of the supposition "some first draft."

This imagination of Dr. Bright's, which would so far save the Anglican position, soon passes into positive fact; it only takes half a page to transpose the conjecture into a certainty, and so on the next page we learn that "the one statement [*i.e.* in the forgery] that Peter ordained (*i.e.* consecrated) Clement, was adopted (*sic*) by Tertullian," (p. 13). It is done. Something which would suit Dr. Bright's theory "may have" taken place (p. 12); therefore it did (p. 13).

Now for the expansion of his argument as to the Chair of Peter. The only spurious letter known of which the supposed "first draft" was to work the miracle of capturing the infant Church of Rome and deceiving the whole West for centuries to come, contains a mention of the *Chair of Peter*. Peter seated Clement "in his own Chair." If Tertullian meant to adopt this in speaking of Clement's ordination, he becomes a direct witness of the highest value to the Petrine episcopate. He would in this case support Irenæus in considering Hyginus the ninth from Peter, which numeration includes Peter in the bishops. We must therefore do some more conjuring. Tertullian must be supposed to have adopted his statement as to Peter having ordained Clement, not from the spurious letter of Clement to James "as it stands" (p. 13),

but from a "first draft" which did not contain the mention of Peter placing Clement in his own Chair. Or if he saw a "first draft" with this unfortunate statement (unfortunate, we mean, for the Anglican contention) he left that part out, and merely retailed the supposed fact that Peter ordained Clement!

But how is this suppositious "first draft" of the story of Peter and Clement to be got to Rome? For there is no evidence for this part of the theory, even if we were to grant its existence at that date, for which also (it is admitted) there is no positive evidence. Dr. Bright will tell us how it got to Rome and made itself at home amongst those Romans, to whom, says St. Cyprian, with all antiquity, "faithlessness could have no access." "It might have reached the West in the latter part of the second century" (p. 13). That is, the earlier form of the story about Peter and Clement. "It might have reached." This looks very like manufacturing evidence. There was no need for it, except on the Anglican presupposition. Let us, however, suppose (what there is not an iota of evidence for asserting) that (1) this supposed first draft existed at that date; and (2) that it reached Rome; it still has to capture the infant Church there. How was it to do this?

Here we have Dr. Bright again at work in his manufactory. Let us watch him. "Peter as the 'first' Apostle," says Dr. Bright. But softly: Dr. Bright has used a rather harsh term about Bishop Hefele for employing the "ambiguous term" *primacy* (p. 80). So that although the word is not, as a matter of fact, in the least ambiguous in Dr. Hefele's pages, still it is "ambiguous" to Dr. Bright by his own confession. Then why does he talk of St. Peter as the "first" Apostle, without explaining what he means by this "firstness" or primacy? However, to continue. "Peter as the 'first' Apostle and the converter of Roman sojourners at the great Pentecost, would be thought of as in his own person the appropriate organiser of the 'first' in importance among churches"—i.e., we must suppose that Rome had already forgotten her history, or learnt to distort it, and placed Peter above Paul, not because he was made the rock, and the key-bearer, and the shepherd, in a pre-eminent sense, but apparently because he had converted some of them in Jerusalem at Pentecost. Then, further, Rome would think more of Clement than of Linus or Anencletus, and

hence—"publish it not in Gath," let not the Philistines hear—hence (remember that we are speaking of those Romans whose faith the Apostle Paul commended as spoken of throughout the world and to whom, according to St. Cyprian, "faithlessness could have no access") "hence a welcome would be given to the account (however obtained) which brought Peter and Clement close together, as the consecrator and the consecrated." The wish was father to the thought. They thought so much of Peter that they wished to place him above St. Paul. We forbear to characterise such arguments.

But Dr. Bright proceeds to weave his web. "From this point it would be a short step to make St. Peter actually the first Roman bishop" (p. 14). It is done. And Dr. Bright is thus able to explain to his own satisfaction why the "Chronicle of Hippolytus" regards St. Peter as the first Bishop of Rome, and why St. Cyprian "calls the Roman See the Chair of Peter," and the place vacated by a deceased Roman bishop the *locus Petri*. *Exit* Cyprian deluded.

But when Dr. Bright asks us in the next sentence not to be surprised, "Can we wonder," &c., we are compelled to say that we are very much surprised, not only that, according to Dr. Bright, "a tradition grew up in the West, extending itself also into the East," on such an important matter, based on a falsehood, but that Dr. Bright should "condescend" (to use the term he applies to Bishop Hefele) to such arguments as these.

We next come to the witness of Eusebius. Dr. Bright thinks that, in a well-known passage in his second book, Eusebius accounts for the pre-eminence of St. Peter by his courage, whereas his statement merely comes to this, that he excelled the rest in that virtue—and so was morally fitted for the leadership—and then he goes on to say that Peter, "like a noble commander of God fortified with divine armour, bore the precious merchandise of the revealed light from the East to those in the West, announcing the light itself and the salutary doctrine of the soul, the proclamation of the Kingdom of God" (ii. 14). It would be unlike Eusebius to enter upon the doctrinal ground of this commanding position held by the Apostle. But as regards the relationship of the Popes St. Linus and St. Clement to St. Peter, Eusebius uses the more

ordinary way of expressing it as that of "first after Peter," and "third after both Paul and Peter," which, as we have said, excludes Linus and Clement from the Apostolate, but does not exclude Peter from the Episcopate.

But then Dr. Bright pauses to impress his readers with an *a priori* argument. The Episcopate of Peter was (he says) on the Papal hypothesis "a fact on which the 'father of Church History' must surely have spoken with unequivocal distinctness and emphasis, instead of leaving it to be read into such a phrase as 'from' or 'after the Apostles'" (p. 17). Dr. Bright means that Eusebius must have spoken with emphasis on this subject in his *History*. We should have thought it was the last thing that Eusebius was likely to emphasise in that particular work. Beyond giving the list of bishops in the See of Rome, just as he would give the list of any other See, Eusebius would not naturally do more, for that would be to enter upon the region of doctrine, from which he carefully refrains. If there had been any heresy on the subject, doubtless he would have given us a succinct account of the heresy; but as there was no Anglicanism up to his day, it would have been going out of his usual dry path to "emphasise" anything of the kind. He had conveyed all that he needed to convey by the phrase "after Peter," for no one doubts that when Eusebius wrote, the Petrine Episcopate was the prevailing tradition, whether derived, as Dr. Bright thinks, from a Clementine Romance (its suppositious first draft and its subsequent enlargement), or as being the Apostolical tradition, as we hold. This being the case, every one would, as a matter of course, read into the expressions used by Eusebius what to this day we ourselves see in them. Dr. Bright virtually somewhat unwarily admits this principle in a note (p. 16, note 4). For he says: "Mr. Rivington remarks that 'we should say that Henry III. was the first king of England after John, meaning to include John amongst the kings.' We *should* say so [adds Dr. Bright], no doubt, *after* saying that John was one of the kings. Only, in the history, Eusebius does *not* say that Peter was one of the Roman bishops." But this principle, "we should say so," &c., must equally apply to the case in which, by hypothesis, every one understood St. Peter to have been the first bishop. For as it would not be necessary for us

to say in a particular book that John was a king, seeing that every one knows that, so it would not be necessary for Eusebius to say that Peter was bishop, if, as was the case, every one by this time (rightly or wrongly) conceived Peter to have held that position.

But, as a matter of fact, Eusebius did say plainly and emphatically that St. Peter had been Bishop of Rome, and therefore there is no room for doubting what he meant by "first after Peter," or "first after the martyrdom of Peter and Paul," or "third from the Apostles." He said in his *Chronicle* that Peter "was the first to preside over the Roman Church." Dr. Bright is quite astonishing as he deals with this plain statement. He says that "this one passage cannot be taken to convey Eusebius' adhesion to the popular Roman theory, as opposed to that computation of Roman succession which makes Linus the first and Eleutherius the twelfth, and which he formally adopts from Irenæus in Hist. v. 6" (p. 18). But (1) that computation does not settle the question either way, except by means of a *petitio principii*, for (we repeat) so far as the mere expression goes it only excludes Linus from the Apostolate and not Peter from the Episcopate. And (2) the statement, "Peter was the first to preside over the Roman Church," is plain, precise, and emphatic, and must be allowed to explain the phrase "after Peter," not *vice versa*. The whole question is indeed contained in that word "first." If he was first, some one was second. There was no second Apostle. *Ergo* Peter was first bishop. Consequently, since also the Greek word here is used by Eusebius for episcopal presidency both at Rome and elsewhere, as Dr. Bright admits, the question as to Eusebius' belief on the matter is settled; and since he explicitly states that Peter was bishop, we must interpret the phrase "first after Peter" in accordance with this statement.

Dr. Bright has one more argument, which, if allowed, would strike at the foundations of our faith. After speaking of the uncertainties as to the exact order in which the first few bishops came, he asks "if the Church in the sub-Apostolic period" understood the Petrine Episcopate "in the Vaticanist sense," "would room have been left for inconsistent traditions as to the first recipients of so momentous a charge?" We might ask in reply, What difference could it make as long as

at the time they knew who was the proper occupant of the Holy See? But we shall do well to ask how Dr. Bright would answer one who does not believe in the Resurrection of Our Lord, if he pleaded that on so momentous a mystery, room would never have been left for inconsistent traditions as to the order of the appearances, nay, for inconsistent interpretations of the Gospel narrative? And if Dr. Bright had had any missionary work amongst the Jews, he would know how they, with equal inconsequence, press the "inconsistent traditions" as to the order in the genealogies in the Gospels, and indeed how others, besides Jews, do the same.

By way of completing our survey of Dr. Bright's arguments on this subject, we may notice that he misunderstands Eusebius' words about Primus, the Bishop of Alexandria. Eusebius calls him "fourth from the Apostles." Now he was fourth from St. Mark, exclusive of St. Mark, and yet clearly Eusebius understood St. Mark to have been the first Bishop of Alexandria. This is an incidental proof that when Eusebius speaks of a person being fourth from another, he does not mean to exclude that other. St. Mark represented St. Peter, and comes under the head of an "Apostolic man;" hence "from the Apostles."

We have thus taken Dr. Bright's account, sentence by sentence, and we submit that no link of his argument will bear the strain put upon it. Indeed, his reliance on a *supposed* "first draft" of the Clementine Romance to account for the tradition of the Petrine Episcopate is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the Anglican position. It is difficult to treat it seriously. It reminds one of a passage in Gulliver's Travels:

He had been eight years upon a project for extracting sunbeams out of cucumbers. . . . He told me he did not doubt that in eight years he would be able to supply the Governor's gardens with sunshine at a reasonable rate.

Dr. Bright, as Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, has supplied the undergraduate mind with light as to the Church's unanimous conviction for so many centuries as to the Petrine Episcopate. Imagine a "first draft" of a romance: put it at Rome early enough for your purpose; put into it exactly what you want, let it capture the infant Church of Rome—and lo! the thing is done.

A learned Swiss Protestant has said :

All the ancients and the great majority of the moderns have undertaken to derive the succession of the bishops of Rome from the Apostle Peter. So great in this matter has been the agreement of all, that in truth it ought to be deemed a miracle that certain persons born in our day have presumed to deny a fact so manifest.*

We must, therefore, according to M. Baratier, consider that we have before us a literary miracle in the present Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History. But, according to a great champion of High Anglicanism, we have to take our choice between two alternatives in contemplating this contention of Dr. Bright's : " He must either be meanly versed in the primitive Fathers, or give little credit to them, who will deny the Pope to succeed S. Peter in the Roman bishopric," says Archbishop Bramhall. Perhaps the following words will show whether it is not the latter alternative that must be preferred. One of the Fathers of the Church, and one of the greatest, is St. Leo the Great. Of him Dr. Bright remarks (p. 119) : " Leo was much more likely to be determinedly inaccurate, when ' confronted ' by facts which crossed his own theory and programme."

After a sentence like this, we should hardly be thought to have passed the bounds of courtesy if we transferred the charge of deliberate inaccuracy to Dr. Bright himself. But we refrain from such ill-mannered accusations and prefer to show on another matter how utterly untrustworthy Dr. Bright is in his dealing either with living authors or with the most important period of Church History. But we must notice, *en passant*, that Dr. Bright will have some difficulty in reconciling his account of how the idea of the Petrine Episcopate grew from a forgery, with his interpretation of St. Irenæus about the faith having been kept at Rome. If the confluence of visitors could not keep the faith right on a matter on which they would naturally be somewhat sensitive, what becomes of Irenæus' supposed assertion ?

II. But it is on the subject of the Nicene Council that one expects Dr. Bright to be at his best. He is, it would

* Baratier, quoted in Chambers's *Encyclopædia*, art. " Roman Catholic Church."

appear, prepared to rest his case against Papal Infallibility on the position occupied by Pope St. Sylvester in the Arian struggle.* He quotes and adopts the saying of a foreign Protestant writer: "L'évêque de Rome fit une triste figure dans cette controverse depuis sa naissance jusqu'au concile de Nicée," and asks "If the Pope was from the very outset the supreme teacher of all Christians, why did he not speak in that character in order to crush Arianism in its beginnings?" (*Church Quarterly Review*, p. 15).

A new departure had to be taken, a great experiment had to be made; the first Œcumenical Council had to be assembled, to hear evidence, to debate, and to formulate a creed. Why—on the Papal hypothesis—was all this trouble taken and all this anxiety endured? The Roman writer [*i.e.* Mr. Rivington] so often already referred to appears not unconscious of the naturalness of the question, &c. ("Roman See," p. 67).

Now one would suppose from this that the writer alluded to had propounded the question spontaneously, or in some way admitted its pertinency; whereas he has expressly stated that he is meeting the arguments advanced by Dr. Pusey and by Dr. Bright himself, and also that the question rests on a thorough misconception of the Vatican decree. There is not a word to indicate any consciousness of the "naturalness of the question." On the contrary, it is stated, in reference to such a question being asked at all, that "one of the most curious phenomena of contemporary history is the continued misunderstanding of those decrees by Dr. Pusey and others" ("Prim. Ch." p. 157, note 1).

The question might be answered simply by asking Dr. Bright if he really believes that the Vatican decree precludes the possibility, or even the probability, of a Council in the future? Is he not aware that Pío Nono looked forward to the reassembling of the Vatican Council to deal with another subject? If, therefore, the Vatican decree in no way precludes the prospect of a Council in the future, it cannot be held to be in conflict with the fact of a Council having been held in the past.

But it will be well to point out how Dr. Bright can misrepresent an author whose words he has before him. It was

* Cf. Bright's "Roman Claims," p. 9, and Preface to "Lives of Three Fathers."

said in the volume from which he quotes, that, considering (1) the close relations between Rome and Alexandria (on which Dr. Bright can lay stress when it suits his purpose), and (2) that Rufinus, who lived in that century, affirms that the Council of Nicæa was summoned in accordance with, or, indeed, as the phrase may mean, in consequence of, the opinion of the priests, *i.e.*, the bishops; and (3) that the sixth General Council, consisting almost entirely of Eastern bishops, and held at Constantinople at a time when the claims of Rome were beyond denial fully before the Eastern mind, attributes the summoning of the council at Nicæa not to Constantine alone, but to the Emperor Constantine *and* Pope Sylvester, it is reasonable to suppose that the matter had been discussed between Sylvester and the Bishop of Alexandria at least. Further, it was argued that there was no call for an *ex cathedrâ* judgment on the subject from the Pope. To this Dr. Bright replied that the complaint is that "Sylvester did nothing; he left Alexander to work and send out encyclicals; but he uttered no warning, he issued no instruction, &c." (*Church Quarterly Review*, October 1894, p. 16). To this it was replied that Dr. Bright was "simply coining history to support his theme. He seems to be entirely oblivious of the crucial fact that almost all Papal letters, decrees, and encyclicals up to the time of Siricius have been lost"—in fact, that Dr. Bright argues from "the absence of records to the silence of the man. He (Sylvester) did nothing, therefore his jurisdiction was not supreme."

Dr. Bright, in answer to this, now ("Roman See," p. 70) makes his opponent suggest that the Christians had "suffered a Papal judgment against Arianism to perish as a document and be forgotten as a fact," and that, too, an *ex cathedrâ* judgment! And this palpable and grave misrepresentation has been hailed elsewhere as a brilliant reply. It rests on a perfectly false allegation. There was no suggestion of an *ex cathedrâ* judgment having been passed; for the whole argument was to the effect that we have no right even to say that one was needed, or possible, under the circumstances ("Prim. Ch." pp. 158-161).

Dr. Bright has, indeed, given signs of a complete misconception of those circumstances in more than one particular. He appears to consider that the Pope would have done well to

“republish the term [Homœousios], or some other equivalent” (p. 69), nay, that if he was infallible he was obliged to do so. But Dr. Bright betrays by this remark a profound misconception not only of the meaning of infallibility, but of the genius of the time and the nature of the case. That term was in use in Rome and Alexandria, but not as of obligation. It was sanctioned by Rome, ready at hand to be the future key of the situation. But to make it obligatory by a mere high-handed sentence issued from Rome would have been an act of the most futile despotism.

Dr. Bright, however, has denied outright (*Church Quarterly Review*, p. 16) that the term was in use in Alexandria, and he has confronted the author of “The Primitive Church and the See of Peter” with the great authority of Cardinal Newman, and invented a contradiction between the two. Let us see how he does it. It had been said (“Prim. Ch.” p. 156) that the term Consubstantial was in use at Rome and Alexandria as the fittest symbol (though not yet as the actual symbol enforced or accepted on all Christians) to express the relationship of the Son to the Father. Dr. Bright denied its use at Alexandria, quoting Cardinal Newman’s words, “It was adopted as a symbol . . . first at Nicæa” (“Ath. Treat.” ii., 438, edit. 2). Now, be it remembered that Mr. Rivington’s express statement was that the term *Homœousios* (or Consubstantial) was in use at Rome and Alexandria, *but not of obligation*, whereas Cardinal Newman is speaking of its obligatory use. As to its non-obligatory use, why did not Dr. Bright continue the passage from which he quotes? We will continue the paragraph for him. The Cardinal goes on to say that the term was “already in use in the Alexandrian Church” (“Athanas. Treat.” ii., 438, edit. 2).

But Dr. Bright not only thus produced a grave misrepresentation of Cardinal Newman, in order to prove a contradiction between his opponent and the Cardinal; he also shows in the passage quoted from “The Roman See,” that he does not appreciate the genius of the time.

If Pope Sylvester had any of the best qualities of a ruler, he would feel much as Bishop Alexander and St. Athanasius felt about the particular term *Homœousios*. Dr. Bright objects that the word does not occur in the letters of Alexander. Exactly so, and why? Cardinal Newman shall

give the answer. "The Encyclical letter of S. Alexander [on the deposition of Arius] *after St. Athanasius' manner* of treating sacred subjects, has hardly one scientific form" ("Athanas. Treat." I., ii. p. 3). And he had just before said of St. Athanasius, "This great author scarcely uses any of the scientific phrases which have since been received in the Church and have become dogmatic;" and again, "A good instance of his manner is afforded by the long passage, 'Orat.' iii. 30-58, which is full of theology with scarcely a dogmatic word. The case is the same with his treatment of the Incarnation." It would therefore have been quite out of accord with the method of controversy adopted by St. Athanasius both before and after the Nicene Council, to have insisted on the use of the term *Homoousios*, before discovering that it was the only one that would satisfy the case. This was a discovery which, so far as we know, Sylvester had not made; it was no part of the prerogative of Papal Infallibility (apart from a Council) to make it; it would have required an inspiration; and infallibility, as Dr. Bright knows, is not inspiration.* It was discovered by dispute with the Bishops in Council, so St. Athanasius tells us, that nothing else would do but the enforcement of that term, which for more than 60 years had had the sanction of Rome and been used at Alexandria. Thus the republication of the term (previous to the Council), which Dr. Bright considers to have been a necessity of the case, if Papal Infallibility was *substantially* primitive, would have been an instance of that want of spiritual tact which so often ruins a cause.

But in another respect Dr. Bright has failed to grasp the historical situation. He thinks that Pope Sylvester ought to have "republished the term [*Homocousios*] or some other equivalent," "during the exigencies of A.D. 319-325" ("Rom. See," p. 68). But there were no "exigencies" during the greater part of that time which called for Papal intervention. In 319, Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, wrote his pastoral against the heresy of Arius, a priest of the diocese; and it was signed by his priests and deacons. This certainly was

* If Dr. Bright had studied the historical introduction to the decree, which he thinks was published twenty years after (*cf. supra*, p. 11), he would understand that the Vatican Council expressly disclaims the power of the Pope to exercise his infallibility *in all cases* without the means of a Council.

not the stage for Papal intervention. The heresy "then spread," as St. Alexander said, "through all Egypt, Libya, and Upper Thebais"—that is to say, in his Patriarchate, so to call it by anticipation. He therefore convened a synod of nearly one hundred bishops, and anathematised the Arians and their sympathisers. Sylvester did not indolently "leave" him to do this, as Dr. Bright expressed it (*Church Quarterly Review*, p. 16); it was his own proper work. The Synod was held at Alexandria in 321. We have therefore only now come to the stage in which Papal intervention would naturally be invoked. But what happened? Arius went off to the East and began to delude some Eastern bishops with his equivocations. It was a matter of the greatest difficulty all along to know what exactly these Easterns meant—to what extent their sympathy went—and how far they were being hoodwinked by Arius. Certainly there was no room as yet for an *ex cathedra* Papal pronouncement. Papal intervention might be expected on the "Papal hypothesis," on which Dr. Bright here professes to argue, to proceed on the lines of ordinary justice: but justice required that suspected bishops should be examined or conferred with. In A.D. 323, the increased excitement through the return of Arius to Alexandria, and the synod held at Bithynia professing to restore him and appealing to bishops to take his side, created, indeed, a situation in which the intervention of the Papacy *would* naturally be invoked. But except in the earliest part of that year, the state of things in the East under Licinius precluded any official communication of the nature required for the preliminaries of an *ex cathedra* decision. It is not certain, indeed, that any active interference from the West was possible for some time before the contest between Licinius and Constantine; for although there are not sufficient grounds for believing in an actual persecution of Christians under the Eastern Emperor, it seems probable that meetings of bishops were looked upon with jealousy. Anyhow, at the time when first the situation could be said to call for intervention from Rome (on the Papal hypothesis) war broke out between the Emperors. Thus, during the first five of the six years selected by Dr. Bright as calling for Papal intervention there was either no call or no room for such action. And after the defeat of Licinius, the idea of a General Council

—that is to say, practically an Eastern Council with the Papal legates—had arisen; and this was an infinitely better way of bringing out the real nature of the disease to be healed, and the remedy to be applied—infinitely better, *on the Papal hypothesis*—than any *ex cathedra* pronouncement from Rome, with insufficient materials for judging and at a distance from the scene of conflict. Such a pronouncement would have been the act of an impetuous despot.

And there is nothing to contradict the supposition that this was the opinion of St. Sylvester himself. The opinion of the bishops, which, according to Rufinus, determined the Imperial action, included, in all reason, the opinion of the bishop whom Dr. Bright would himself call the *primus inter pares*. He gave his consent; he sent his legates, not surely without any instructions, and as the Synod of ninety bishops under St. Damasus, about forty years later, could write to the East,

Our ancestors, three hundred and eighteen bishops and [those] sent from the city of the most holy bishop of the City of Rome, a council having been arranged at Nicæa, erected this bulwark against the weapons of the devil.

We must, therefore, conclude that Dr. Bright's main disproof from history of Papal Infallibility not only ignores the express statement of the Vatican Council as to the relation of the Pope to a Council, but it also proceeds upon a misconception of the historical situation during the years 319–325 A.D. There was no time within that period when Sylvester could have acted as St. Victor did. This latter Pope had shown what could be done under some circumstances. He set the whole Christian world in motion through his requests that synods should be held and their reports sent in to him, not merely throughout the Roman Empire, but in Osroene, beyond its confines. This, as we have seen, was not possible under the circumstances of the Arian struggle during the years 319–325 A.D. For during the first part of that short period things were not in a condition for Papal intervention, which does not ordinarily occur until local efforts have been exhausted. And when these were insufficient, the idea of a Council came on to the scene, an Eastern Council with Papal legates, for such, in point of fact, it was—in which the doctrine required by Pope St. Dionysius of his namesake, the Bishop of Alexandria, was

expressed in the term already in use at Rome and Alexandria, now made obligatory by its insertion in a creed.

A word or two in conclusion. We notice that on p. 209, Dr. Bright sneers at the author of "The Primitive Church and the See of Peter," for speaking of "the Homooousios"—no doubt a very unscholarly expression. But it is Dr. Bright's invention. It does not occur in the passage to which he refers, nor anywhere else in the book. The expression used is "the *term* Homooousios," an expression used by Cardinal Newman in English, and by Cardinal Franzelin in the Latin equivalent "*Vox Homooousios.*" Why does Dr. Bright go out of his way to bespatter his opponent? At least he might keep to the truth.

LUKE RIVINGTON.

NOTE.—We have not noticed one other extraordinary argument used by Dr. Bright to show that St. Sylvester ought to have republished the term Homooousios—viz., that "it was at any rate [*sic*] widely believed that the term was actually withdrawn . . . by the great Council of Antioch" ("Roman See," p. 69). St. Athanasius lets us know ("De Synod," 43) that such withdrawal was unknown to him. And if it had not reached Alexandria, the centre of the conflict, it was not likely to have reached Rome.

ART. III.—SIR FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD.

SIR FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD was the son of Sir Thomas Englefield, Kt., by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Throckmorton, Kt. He was born about the year 1522, but the place of his birth has not been ascertained.

It is stated on the strength of a family tradition (Eyston MSS.), that he was brought up to the law, and seeing that his father was one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, this does not seem improbable, although no record remains of the place of his education. In 1547 he was High Sheriff for Berks, and in 1549 we find him attached to the household of the Princess Mary.

In this position, as one of Mary's chief officers, Sir Francis had some foretaste of the troubles which were to beset him later in life on account of his fidelity to the religion of his fathers.

In the year 1549 the Protector Somerset endeavoured to force the Princess Mary to conform to the service of the Established Church, and he required her to give up to the Privy Council Dr. Hopeton, her chaplain, Rochester, her comptroller, and Sir Francis Englefield, her chief officer.

Mary refused, and no doubt Somerset would have resorted to extreme measures had not the Spanish ambassador interfered, and threatened to leave England and declare war if his master's kinswoman was molested in the exercise of her religion. The respite did not, however, last long, for in a very few months Francis Mallet, head chaplain to Mary, and a man of much learning and piety, was seized and imprisoned in the Tower, where he was watched day and night.

Mary expostulated with the King and strongly urged Mallet's release, but her letters were disregarded. She, nevertheless, continued to have mass celebrated, as usual, in her house at Copthall, in Essex, by her other chaplains.

Further efforts were made to prevent mass being said, and to force the princess to adopt the services of the Church of England. On August 11, 1551, the King and Council sent for Rochester, Waldegrave, and Englefield, and, after many

threats and persuasions, ordered them to return to their mistress and inform her and her chaplains that mass must be discontinued. They further charged these, her personal servants, to enforce their orders and control in her own house the actions of their mistress in matters of religion. "If she in consequence discharged them, they were to stay all the same and enforce the King's orders" (Privy Council book and Ellis letters). So far as conveying the message, they obeyed the order of the Council.

Mary naturally enough resented the interference and refused compliance, and returned by her three servants a long letter to the king setting forth her reasons for disobeying his commands. This letter was delivered to Edward at Windsor, and several days were occupied in considering its contents. At length a reply was framed which to all intents and purposes was a repetition of the former commands.

Rochester was charged to convey the message, but he refused. "They might send him to prison if they liked, but as to face his mistress on any such errand he would not" (Privy Council book Ed. vi.). Waldegrave and Englefield likewise refused on the ground that to interfere with the religious rites of their mistress would be against their consciences.

The result was that all three were committed first to the Fleet Prison (Oct. 30, 1551), and then to the Tower, where they remained until April 24, 1552.

Finding Mary's servants would not act as their envoys, a deputation from the Council waited on the princess. Their errand, however, was fruitless, for Mary declared, "rather than use any other service than that ordained during the life of my father, I will lay my head on the block."

The princess appears to have gained her ends, for evidence exists of the mass being said in her house to within a few weeks of King Edward's death.

With the accession of Mary the fortunes of Sir Francis Englefield rose rapidly, and during her short reign he reaped the reward of fidelity to his mistress in the days of her adversity.

Miss Strickland, in her lives of the "Queens of England," speaks of him as the confidential friend of Queen Mary, and praises him highly for his straightforward honesty in all deal-

ings. To Sir Francis Englefield, Rochester, and Sir William Petre, Mary first confided her plans for the restoration of the Church lands and religious houses.

Englefield was made a Privy Councillor and Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, and was elected member of Parliament for Berks.

He was appointed lord of the hundreds of Reading and Theale, which office formerly pertained to the Abbot and Convent of Reading.

Among other gifts he received a grant of the manors of Farrington, Pangbourne and Whitley, and of the Abbot's house at Cholsey (1, 2, 4, 5, Phil. and Mary).

Although, on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Francis Englefield ceased to take that prominent part in the councils of England which he had hitherto done, the chief and most difficult part of his life has to be written.

For this, material is not wanting, but it is of a kind most difficult to analyse.

The brief accounts of Sir Francis, which have from time to time appeared, simply brand him as "a traitor to his country, steeped in treason." No extenuating circumstances are advanced, neither is the condition of the times during which he lived, nor the position into which he may be said to have been forced, taken into consideration.

Of disloyalty to his country, so far as aiding the King of Spain in his happily fruitless attempt to invade England, he can be fully acquitted. Fitzherbert, who was contemporary with Sir Francis at the Spanish Court, says :

Sir Francis Englefield and all the rest of the English Catholics, who had interest with the King of Spain, represented all the solid reasons they could think of to divert him from the conquering of England, and to persuade him that if he should subdue it he would not be able to keep it long in subjection.

No letters written by or to Sir Francis Englefield tend to implicate him in the project of the Spanish king. Indeed, the only letters we have of that period to Sir Francis (there are none from him) merely relate news of the Armada in conjunction with other gossip. There are letters and extracts of letters from those well-known-to-be enemies of Sir Francis,

which tend to incriminate him, but these, without other evidence, must be looked upon with suspicion. Indeed, the very vague way in which they are worded leads one to suppose that the matter hinted at was founded more on suspicion than on fact. Whatever may be said of Sir Francis Englefield's connection with the plot for the Spanish invasion, it cannot be denied that he favoured the adherents of the Scottish queen. Whether this intrigue in the affairs of Marie Stuart was merely an endeavour to free her from her English prison and save her life, or of a deeper nature which sought to place her on the English throne during the lifetime of Elizabeth, is difficult to determine.

There is no documentary evidence to show that Sir Francis Englefield sought to place Marie Stuart on the throne to the exclusion of Elizabeth; but it is clear that he made efforts to obtain her release from her English prison, and to secure to her the right of succession to the English Crown at her cousin's death—a right which was acknowledged by the accession of her son James.

Shortly after the death of Queen Mary, Sir Francis Englefield obtained permission to travel abroad. The MS. life of Sir Francis preserved at Hendred, states that :

Finding the Queen bent on a change of religion, and he himself being desirous to stick out without disturbance to his, left the nation and made his estates over to his brother John with remainder to John's son, without power of revoking except by the tender of a certain ring.

Although he left England sometime during the year 1559, we first hear of Sir Francis officially two years later.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the English ambassador in Paris, writing to Queen Elizabeth, May 9, 1561, says :

On the 6th Sir Francis Englefield came to this town out of Italy. He desires that his licence may be continued that he may pass over next August at the baths of Liège for the more perfect recovery of his health.

Another letter of the same date, from Throckmorton to Cecil, encloses one from Sir Francis with a similar request. Gresham writing to Cecil in the following September relates that "Englefield is at Louvain, and intends to come home shortly." Further leave seems to have been granted, for

Throckmorton writes to Cecil, October 9, 1561: "Englefield acknowledges himself bound (indebted) to you for prolonging his stay abroad."

In a letter written from Padua, February 5, 1561, by Sir Francis Englefield to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, he recites a piece of gossip as follows:

From Flanders, France, and Rome it has been so often written that the Queen is secretly married, that no man will believe the contrary, but no Englishman here has any such knowledge.

A month later (March 3, 1561) we find Sir Francis again writing to Throckmorton, stating that within fourteen days he will be on his way to Flanders, and he asks Throckmorton to address his reply to him in the care of Richard Batson, English merchant, at the sign of J.H.S., Greyfriars St., Antwerp.

The reply he expected was probably continued leave to remain abroad. If such was the case the leave was not granted; for the Queen in a letter dated from Westminster, May 10, 1562, "commands him, as the term of his licence has long expired, to repair from beyond the seas to her upon pain of her displeasure," and on the same date Cecil also writes: "Is sorry he could not prolong his stay. He may return without peril, but if he shall otherwise determine he will find lack."

Sir Francis replied to the Queen from Bruges, May 31, 1562, as follows:

Has received her letter commanding his return home, the experience of her clemency has emboldened him to lay before her the cause of his desire to be absent. It does not proceed from indevotion, as his due respect to her in her sister's time sufficiently witnesses. Besides his bodily health, formerly and truly alleged, there is a certain grudge and loathness which he has always felt to be a slanderous or offended subject, joined with a persuaded conscience that will not suffer him to conform to the laws or orders of that religion present, which scruple he leaves to her consideration. Her own unpleasant experience will have taught her the great force that conscience carries. He chooses by his absence to leave unshown the service he owes to her, since in causes of religion his conscience is not pliable, in which matter God and forty years time have settled him. He is forced to choose either the insatiable worm of a guilty conscience or to be displeased to her.*

* Cal. State Papers, foreign series.

To make the objections contained in the foregoing letter clear, it will be necessary to refer to the position of the Catholics in England at this period.

The earlier penal laws of Elizabeth's reign made it impossible for any heir holding under the crown to sue out the livery of his lands, or for any person to accept office under the crown without first taking the oath of supremacy.

Although the oath of supremacy was to all intents and purposes a renunciation of Catholic doctrines, its limitation to the two classes named made it possible for the majority of Catholics to avoid it.

However, in the second parliament of Elizabeth more stringent measures were adopted, and these were so far-reaching that they necessitated the conformity to the Established Church, or the punishment of every Catholic of whatever degree in the realm.

The obligation of taking the oath was extended to members of the House of Commons, to schoolmasters and private tutors, to attorneys, and to all who had held office in the Church or in ecclesiastical courts during the last three reigns, and also to such as should openly disapprove of the established worship, or should celebrate or hear others celebrate any private mass. The penalty for the first refusal was forfeiture and perpetual imprisonment, and for the second refusal the punishment of death, as in cases of high treason.

With the knowledge that a return to England meant either imprisonment (perhaps death) or the taking of an oath which his conscience would not sanction, it is not to be wondered that Sir Francis Englefield preferred to keep beyond the reach of Elizabeth and her ministers.

Cecil, it is true, had told him he might "return without peril," but probably the experience of others had taught him the value of such an expression.

There appear to be no letters to show whether the Queen replied to Sir Francis' appeal of May 31, 1562,* nor do we know if at this period he made any further attempt to appease her majesty.

* In 1562 Sir Francis appears to have presented Alexander Clarke as vicar of Shiplake, Oxon.

The sequestration of his property took place within twelve months, although the Act of Parliament confirming the robbery was not passed until some years later.

A list of the manors seized, dated July 13, 1563, is in the Record Office, and a letter from Sir John Mason to Challoner, of July 19 of the same year, contains this passage: "Mr. Englefield having refused to return to England has had his goods and lands sequestered to the Queen's use."

Strype's "*Annales*," cap. 36, p. 371, records that "some considerable difficulty arose in seizing Englefield's estates owing to the settlement he had made, but eventually the judges decided in the Queen's favour, and she seized them."

Immediately on receiving news of the seizure, Sir Francis wrote (August 18, 1563) a long letter to the Privy Council, stating

That he was rather an unwilling offender than a malicious one, and that his cause was not unworthy of their honours' accustomed commendation unto her Majesty's clemency. That where he was charged with adhering to her Majesty's enemies and rebels. He answered that he never yet had been in a place where anyone so showed himself, nor was so manifested, that he might know him for such. That where he was called once, though not often, commanded to make a speedy return he granted he did not perform it. But he prayed them to call to mind of what faith and conscience they had known him always to have been in religion consonant to that he had been taught and bred up in, and the present orders, proceedings, and laws in England so dissonant and varying therefrom, which two laid together did show how hard a choice was left to him—viz., either in following the laws to wrest and strain his conscience, or by not obeying them to offend his prince. He yielded to embrace a third, and to sequester himself unto a private life in some other place. That his conscience was not made of wax. That many of their lordships had tasted largely of the invincible force of conscience, and her untractable nature on which side soever she take. She might be crazed and cracked by things infinite that seemed but small, and being once forced to fayle in the least that canker was never curable after. But to change and alter she could not be framed by man's power or policy till God pleased to draw her being once firmly fixed. That though that little he was threatened to lose could not draw him presently to the offence of his prince, yet what lack and necessity might hereafter do he dared not warrant nor take on him to say. He prayed their lordships, therefore, to be the means to her Majesty's clemency for him in this cause; that he might be spared as hitherto to enjoy that small portion of living yet left him. He bad them reject his suit if he sought to find more favour now than heretofore when his lot served he was willing to

show, or than by his help others had enjoyed. That if the place or company where he lived did offend, he should be always willing to change the same and conform to the Queen's devotion.

Sir Francis wrote a somewhat similar letter to the Council again in April 1564, and also one to Cecil. Both are dated from Antwerp. In his letter to Cecil, Sir Francis

complains of malicious insinuations against him to the prejudice of his suit to her Majesty. He professes great loyalty and reverence, and encloses a copy of the assignment of his wife's revenues which he entreats may be faithfully performed.*

To this point there appears nothing whatever beyond the insinuations of his enemies to implicate Sir Francis Englefield in any kind of intrigue against Elizabeth. The only charge brought against him, so far as documents show, is his refusal to return to England. This charge he admits, and explains his reasons for disobeying—viz., his inability to conform to the religion established by law. He is profuse in his expressions of loyalty, and offers to reside at any place the Queen may appoint, but he is evidently determined not to risk the temptation to a denial of his religious belief which a return to England might place before him. He hints in his letter to the Council that although now loyal, a time may come when he may be driven to an opposite course, and we get perhaps the first intimation of this break two years later, when we find Sir Francis writing to Wilson in obscure terms and enjoining him to burn the letter.

This Wilson is mentioned in a letter from Bedford to Cecil (Nov. 29, 1565), as follows: "The bearer is the rankest papist in Scotland, named Stephen Wilson, who receives letters from Mr. Englefield."

ENGLEFIELD TO WILSON. (Cecil Papers, No. 219).

Jhesus Maria.

Gentle Mr. Stephen I receyvyd thys day your courteouse commendations, and Remembraunce in your letters to my good lorde, the bearer hereof: is haste ys suche towards you, that I have scarce tyme inoughe to wryte thes few words of thanks unto you. And the trewthe ys, I heare no neues worthye the wrytinge other than such as my lord cane declare unto

* Cal. State Papers, Dom. series.

you, and very lately I was so bolde to vysyte you with a few lynes of my commendations, sent by a gentleman of my countrey and acquayntans that went last thys way towards you. My lorde cane tell you hys name. Thus thynking yt but Follye to double that by letters, wch my lorde here cane tell you, I commytte you for thys tyme to our lord's governance, & my selfe moste hartely unto you, & to every one ells, where eny way I owe yt. At Lovayne the 17 of August 1565.

Your owne assneryd to my lyttle power

FRAUNCEYS ENGLEFYLD.

I pray you keape noo suche papers as thes are, when you have ones Readde them : but burne them forthwith.—

Addressed : To the worshipfull Mr. . . . n Wylson gent.

The above letter is endorsed as follows in Burghley's handwriting :

"17. Aug. 1565 Sir Fs. Englefeild to Wilson a Scottishman"

It seems therefore probable that it never reached its destination.

Sir Francis Englefield appears not to have given up all hope of recovering some portion of his property, for we find him seeking the assistance of the King of Spain to intercede in his behalf to Queen Elizabeth.

In a letter to Cecil from Madrid, December 18, 1566, Sir Francis writes : " Herewith comes the King of Spains letter to the Queen on my behalf which I beseech you to aid."

The King's request was conveyed through Man,* the English ambassador, who writes to the Queen as follows, December 19, 1566 :

The King has willed me to write in favour of Sir Francis Englefield that he may have in what place he likes best to live the revenues of his lands.

In a letter to Cecil, January 22, 1567, Man says : " Englefield bears great countenance here"

The Queen's reply to Man is dated February 25, 1567.

Cannot grant the King of Spain's request for Sir Francis Englefield to enjoy his lands abroad on account of his misbehaviour.

This letter must have been some time in transit, for Man, writing to Cecil March 3, 1567, says :

* John Man, ambassador to Spain.

"Has been required the queens answer to the Kings suit for Sir F. Englefield"

In the same letter he reports :

There are strange rumours in the Court of alterations of religion in England, amongst other things that the Queen has given licence to all that will to hear mass.

King Philip wrote again to Elizabeth on behalf of Sir Francis. His letter is dated March 30, 1568.* It appears to have been a third appeal, for Englefield, writing to Cecil from Madrid, April 1, 1568, says :

If any go about to defame me of importunity or any other error in that the King of Spain writes now the third time in my favour

He then goes on to excuse the justness of his suit, and places his trust in Cecil, assuring him that "he will not cast away his benefits upon an ungrateful man." This may have been mere figurative language, but it reads somewhat like a hint at something more substantial to the advantage of the minister.

It is pretty evident that the King of Spain took up the cause of Sir Francis Englefield with considerable energy, for in the Cal. of State Papers—Cecil 155/116—col. i. p. 387, "Affairs of Spain," A.D. 1568, we find the following :

At his departure towards England he (Harrington) told my lord ambassador that the king had willed him to join with his ambassador here in England about Sir Francis Englefield, his matter

* * * * *

Mr. Hug . . . ines brought news unto my Lord Ambassador . . . that a great man should say that it would not be long ere our Queen should be glad to request at the King of Spains hands as great matter as that of Sir Francis Englefields is.

Man, writing to Cecil, April 11, 1568, says: "Sir Francis Englefield has bought a house in this town and as void of hope to obtain his suit purposes to give himself entirely to the King."

The latter part of this communication is proved to be mere supposition, by the fact that on the very same date Englefield writes to Cecil as follows :

* This would be one month after the date of Elizabeth's letter of Feb. 25, 1567, really 1568 our style

MADRID, *April* 11, 1568.—As to my returning there is a danger of life by an unjust taxing me with adhering to rebels and the queens enemies . . . while my conscience remains persuaded as it is there is no possible way to live in England without the plain condemnation thereof inwardly, and the public offence of my sovereign, by being scandalous to her subjects and a breaker of her laws.

Again, writing to Cecil, July 1, 1568, Sir Francis begs him to favour the King of Spain's request

to the queen for him. He professes fidelity to the queen and affection to his country albeit for necessitys sake he is forced not to refuse the liberality of the King of Spain.

Elizabeth's reply to the King of Spain is dated February 25, 1568. The draft among the State Papers (Foreign Series) is in Cecil's handwriting, as follows :

Has received his (Philip's) letter of Jany. 22 [this seems to imply another letter after that of March 30] in favour of Sir Francis Englefield who has made suit to him without just or reasonable ground, for no subject has had such favour in the like case as he had. Before he departed out of the realm he was never molested in the matter of his religion, for which he pretends he absents himself and after the time of his licence expired he was upon his suit made by his own letters favourably borne withall. But finding no part of these favours could prevail with him and hearing also his disposition to maintain certain lewed and seditious persons fled out of her realm under pretence of religion. She, following the example of her predecessors and especially of Queen Mary "whose soul &c &c" caused inquisition to be made of his goods and lands and commanded them to be seized. She has never caused a penny of his goods to be taken for her own use but relieved his wife with some convenient portion and left all the rest in the hands of his friends and servants.

The statement as to the disposition of the estates can only be classed as a deliberate lie. The statement that "he was never molested on account of his religion before he left England" is true enough, for the simple reason that Sir Francis left his country within a very short period of Elizabeth's accession, and therefore before active persecution of the Catholics had commenced.

Taking the letter as a whole, where it does not actually lie, it is a feeble attempt to justify an unjust action, and throw dust in the eyes of the Spanish king.

It will have been noticed that the preceding letters for the years 1567 and 1568 refer solely to the private affairs of Sir

Francis Englefield. So far as I have been able to ascertain, no other documents of these dates exist that can in any way be connected with Sir Francis, neither can I find a single letter from or to him for the year 1569. This is somewhat remarkable, for we find his name appears in the list of those attainted for being concerned in the Northern rebellion. He being described as a fugitive (Stat. of Realm, v. 549); a fugitive, far from the scene of the rising, he must, if implicated, have sent and received letters to those with whom he was working; and yet, strange to say, not a vestige of any such correspondence can be found.

It cannot of course be doubted but that Sir Francis was fully aware of what was likely to take place, but it is certainly in his favour that no proof of his active interference is on record.

In April, 1570, Sir Francis Englefield was in the Low Countries, for we find him writing from Louvain to the Duchess of Feria—who, as Jane Dormer, had been with Englefield attached to Queen Mary's (Tudor) household.

In this letter he refers to a plot which is said, on good authority, to have been arranged between Elizabeth and the Regent Murray for the destruction of the Scottish Queen, a plot only frustrated by the death of Murray.

The reference is as follows:

SIR FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD TO THE DUCHESS OF FERIA.

. The Queen of Scotland continues prisoner at Tutbury. She had been delivered into James' (Murray) hands, or worse, conveyed away if he had not been slain. She was, under pretence of favour, to be carried about to see the country, and take recreation after her long restraint, and by hunting and hawking from place to place brought near to Bristol, where she could have been embarked by force at night; and in the morning her keepers and guard were to make an outcry and raise the country and pursue her, saying she was run away into France. Then the ship, some say, was to be drowned next night, the master and mariners escaping in a pinnace. The ship was on its way to Bristol when James (Murray) was slain, and was taken by two or three French ships that went to victual Dumbarton Castle, besieged by James' command. This talk comes from London, give it what credit you please.

LOUVAIN, *April 1570.*

The correspondence of the following year (among the Cecil MSS.) brings to light one of those despicable characters—

spies on their fellows—whom the ministers of State employed as their tools at this period.

This person was Charles Bailly, who first appears as a messenger from the Bishop of Ross, the agent of Mary Stuart, and next as a correspondent to Lord Burleigh and the Council, to whom he reveals what little he has been able to glean to the disadvantage of those he pretended to serve. It is true the information he gives is of small value, and tends rather in favour of than against Sir Francis Englefield; nevertheless, it too plainly shows the dangers of the time and the little reliance suspected persons could place in their supposed friends. The letters are as follows:

CHARLES BAILLY TO THE BISHOP OF ROSS.

April 20th, 1571.—The Prior of the Carthusians at Bruges showed the writer where he should find Sir Francis Englefield, with whom he spoke by a nunnery half a league from Antwerp.*

CHARLES BAILLY TO LORD BURLEY.†

May 2nd, 1571.—Though he will lose his credit with the Bishop of Ross, and the service he has done the Queen of Scots for seven years; putting all his confidence in Burley, he has thought good to recite to his lordship that he went to Sir Francis Englefield to find the books, and missing them passed to Brussels where he met Rudolphi.

His letter to the Council is practically the same as to Burleigh.

The next document, in chronological order, from among the Cecil papers, is the confession of Richard Smith, and this goes very far to show that Sir Francis Englefield at this period had no thoughts of dethroning Elizabeth in favour of the Queen of Scots. He seeks to have the Scottish Queen declared heir to the Crown and free to return to her country, and even goes so far as to explain how certain matters can be arranged “without any offence to the Queen of England.”

As the confession is a long one, only the passages which refer to the subject of this history are given:

* This is in cypher (Cecil MS. 1550).

† Cecil MS. 1561.

RICHARD SMITH'S CONFESSION (CALEND. 1, p. 553).

October 27th, 1571.

In what services Stukley did specially use him and what services he hath done unto the said Stukley.

I served him as steward of his household and he would also sometimes make me privy to some of such letters as were sent into the Duches of Ferye out of Flanders from Sir Francis Englefielde.

How many letters did he see of Sir Fr. Englefielde's and of what effect they were.

I first saw a letter wherein he wrote of the choosing of "a eare par-rante" [heir apparent] to the crown of Engl—, which he said should be the King of Scots, and that the principal persuaders of it were Mr. Secretary and Sir Walter Mildmay, and that thereupon the Queen of Scots should be delivered home to her country and in the same letter he persuaded the Ducke of Ferye to work that the King of Spain might allow her a guard of 400 Spaniers whereby she may the better recover her estate among so many enemies as she had in her own country and that this might be very well done without any offence to the Q of Engl—, and that by that means that party might have the better hand in furthering their religion.

And in other letters he wrote that, Stukley might be stayed in Spain as a man very necessary to be "owsed" [? used] to conduct men and to do some service by sea when either the Earls of Westmorland or Northumberland might enter into Scotland, and with the aid of 6000 Spaniards to come into the North part of England, and that if this were taken in hand all was theirs, and that if this might not be obtained being so "sured" [? assured] of so great aid as they had in the north, he would bestow himself where he would never be seen of any man that knew him, upon which writing of this Stu[k]ley* was stayed longer in the country than otherwise he should have been.

A letter from Sir William Drury to Lord Burghley, dated from Leith, April 13, 1572, contains this passage :

It seems by his speech that Sir Francis Englefield was a great doer in the articles which he brought from the Duke of Alva.

In June of the same year, Robert Hagan solicits of the Earl of Leicester a lease of part of the lands of Sir Francis Englefield. A year later (Cal. S.P., foreign, 1573) we find Sir Francis Englefield writing from Malines to Chapin Vitelli

* Thomas Stukely, according to Lingard (vi. 157), "was an English adventurer without honour or conscience, who had sold his services at the same time to the queen and to the pope, and who alternately abused the confidence and betrayed the secrets of each."

in commendation of Hugh Owen, a catholic gentleman, who, on account of his religion, has been obliged to leave his country and family, and desiring he will assist him in obtaining the payment of twenty crowns per month promised to him by the King of Spain.

This is not the only instance we shall have to record of Sir Francis Englefield using his influence to obtain support for his countrymen in exile.

The extracts which follow, from three letters written by Sir Francis Englefield to William Cotton, probably refer to the further efforts which were being made to free the Scottish Queen.

ENGLEFIELD to WM. COTTON.

ANTWERP, *May 28, 1575.*

Fears the news of their banishment may deter many lending assistance to the cause.*

ENGLEFIELD to COTTON.

Aug. 31, 1575.

Commends Cotton's proceedings. Recommends the bearer, Thomas Evans, to follow his (Cotton's) company as a merchant. He may be trusted, though a Welshman.†

ENGLEFIELD to COTTON.

LIEGE, *Dec. 10, 1575.*

Desires him not to let the opposition he has met with put a stop to his endeavours. Has been obliged to change his residence on account of health and safety.‡

The next letter is dated from Brussels, Jan. 23, 1575, from Sir Francis Englefield to Dr. Wilson :

Desires that he will vouchsafe to give him some written testimony of the effect of the message sent to him by the Earl of Westmorland as far forth as it touched him. Regarding how much the accusation imports him, trusts he will excuse him for not leaving anything undone tending to his defence. As for his further commandment to use his endeavours to bring to light the author of that book, will within three or four days send some one to him that by personal conference with him he may more largely understand all the circumstances.

* Cal. State Papers, Dom. series.

† Cal. State Papers, foreign.

‡ *Ibid.*

The above seems to imply that the Earl of Westmorland had made some accusation against Sir Francis which he is anxious to disprove. Two years later Dr. Wilson, writing to Burleigh from Brussels, Jan. 28, 1577, says:

Has busied himself these two days about the papers of a lewed and most horrible varlet William Cotton. Has collected twenty, which he sends. Also a catalogue of the English Catholics as he has enrolled them, and also those whom he pleases to call heretics. They seek only the setting-up of the Scottish Queen. Cannot trust any of them, and dislikes greatly with Sir Francis Englefield who writes so earnestly and so often to so very a varlet as Cotton is.

It may be here remarked that most of the correspondence between the friends of Marie Stuart until this period merely refers to her release and the acknowledgment of her right to the succession after Elizabeth. The evidence that their intention was "the setting-up of the Scottish Queen" comes only from those in the pay of Elizabeth and her ministers. The two letters which follow may, however, be taken to implicate the friends of Marie Stuart in the deeper scheme, for they refer, without doubt, to the wild project of Don Juan of Austria, who contemplated the invasion of England, the deposition of Elizabeth, and the enthronement of the Scottish Queen in her stead. Don Juan's reward, according to his visionary project, was to be the hand of Marie Stuart, with whom he was to reign as King of England. Pope Gregory gave his adhesion to the scheme, but the moment it was mentioned to Philip of Spain he rejected it. Don Juan died shortly after, and the plot fell through. The letters are Dr. Wilson to Burleigh from Brussels, Feb. 1, 1577.

Mr. Horsey can tell you what was done at Marche by Sir Francis Englefield in presenting a roll to Don Juan of those belike who were Catholics and the Queen of Scots' friends.*

Advertisement by Haye, Feb. 20, 1577.

There have been divers practices with Don Juan by Sir Francis Englefield and the Countess of Northumberland as concerning the Queen of Scots who have let him understand that with a small number of horse-men upon the sudden it is very easy to carry her away. Gabriel Dennis

* Cal. State Papers, foreign.

is the solicitor in the matter for the said Sir Francis Englefield to Escovedo, and he the means to Don Juan. There have been of late in Namur many Englishmen, but since the writers coming all are gone except Sir Francis Englefield, who is hid in a nunnery.*

A list of English exiles of this period is in the Public Record Office, London (Dom. Eliz. Vol. 105, n. 10). It refers to Englefield as follows :

Sir Frauncis Ingefild, knight, abideth commonly at Bruxelles; somme tyme he is at Machlin. He hath his owld pencion still, which he had beinge counsellour in Q. Maries tyme, of the K. of Spaigne, by moneth. . . . He rideth allwayes with 4 good horse.

The next document, in point of date, shows that Sir Francis Englefield had become so reduced in fortune, by the seizure of his estates, as to require the further assistance of the King of Spain for his support. It is an order from the King to the Duke of Alva for the payment to Sir Francis of 1000 florins per year. The original, in Spanish, is in the archives of the English College at Valladolid.

THE KING.

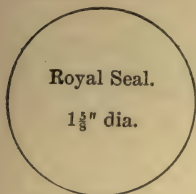
Duke of Alva, chief of our Council of State, Head major domo, Governor, Lieutenant and Captain General in my Low Countries. In consideration of the quality of Francis Englefield, an English gentleman who will present this to you, and of his great services rendered to me and to the most Serene Queen Mary, my wife who is in glory, being, as he was, one of our Counsellors in England, and also of what he has lost and suffered to preserve like a good and faithful Catholic our pure, ancient and true religion, I have thought good to give him a thousand florins for his maintenance yearly, of twenty placas each one, under your consignment, wherewith he may be able to support himself until he may recover the estate which, as you are aware, the Queen of England has sequestered from him, and in the meantime, so long as it be my will, residing there or where you may ordaine, being engaged as you may wish to occupy him, and conformable hereunto we charge and command you to provide and give the order which is requisite and usual, that from the day of the date of the present, henceforth for the time and with the limitation here mentioned, from the money provided you for the maintenance of the troops kept by us in those states, there be assigned and paid to the said Englefield, or to the person who may legally represent him, the said thousand florins of twenty placas each, in each year, at the times and in the same manner as shall be assigned and

* Cal. State Papers, foreign.

paid to other individuals the like allowances which they hold from us in that army, in whose books of payment you will enter this our schedule and restore the original to the said Englefield that he may hold it as a title of the aforesaid.

Given in Madrid on the thirtieth day of the month of October of the year one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight.

I, the KING.



By order of His Majesty,
GABRIEL DE CAYAS.

Entered in the books of payment of the army of his Majesty, which I hold.

ALONSO ALAMEDA.

Entered in the books of payment of the army of his Majesty, which I hold.

CHRISTOBAL DE CASTELLANOS.
Entered.

To the Duke of Alva, that he orders to be paid to Francis Englefield a thousand florins of twenty placas each year, which his Majesty has assigned him of maintenance until he recover the estate which they hold sequestrated in England, and in this meantime during the will of your Majesty.

Sir FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD to Dr. WILLIAM ALLEN. Madrid, *Sept.* 4, 1581.
(Westm. archives. Printed in Dodd, vol. ii., pp. 240).

Right worshipfull deare Sir ; Albeyt my last unto you of the 21st of August were so late that I have nothing to ad of newe from hens ; yet having syns recevyed yours wrytten at Montz the 15th of July, I can not pretermytt to acknowledge yt, & withall to advise you that in myne opinion the Prynce of Parma sheweth lytle good will to our spyrytuall companye in wresting the words of the Kyngs letter to the worst sens for them that possyibly the words can be drawen unto ; the Kyngs meanyng beyng undoubtedly that bothe the treasuries of his fynances & exercito should be chargeable with that almes from tyme to tyme ; & so us the literall and most apparant sens of his woords. And I warrant you yt will appeare so, when soever your company shall by any new sewte for want of payment shewe forth the expresse words of his Majesties graunt, & the prejudiciale interpretation made of them to your hynderance. And touching the partycular provisions expected by pryvate men out of that surplusag that ys to be dysposed by Mr. D. Brystowe & you, I doe remember not past fyve or 6 persons that can

justly chalenge any partyculer porcyon thereof, to wytt, Mr. D. Knott, Mr. Hargatt, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Freman & Mr. D. Paulley with Fa. Dutche; no mo beyng alyve & present which were allotted any porcyons by the Duke: & theyr porcyons amountyng in all but to 390 florynes by the yeare, there will remayne to your disposition 1210 florynes yerely besyds. For as to the rest which had partyculer allottments by the fyve dystrybutors, no one of them all can justly chalenge any farthing in pryvate, beyng neyther the Kyngs meanyng nor the Dukes that any one should have any permanent state or tyme in that distribution, but that the fyve distributors should at every recpt dyspose the money anewe, & not to them which had yt at the last payment, but as they should fynde the necessytie and worthines of every partye.

So as the fyve former distributors in nominating 30 persons only to partake of the same dyd not only prejudice theyr owne libertie & authoritye therby, but dyd also playne injury to all the rest of the nation that were pore & worthie therof (which by the Kyngs graunt & the Dukes meanyng had as much interest & title therto as any of them that recevyd the money whensoever the distributors should think them worthie therof) & this awthorytie beyng nowe comytted to Mr. D. Bristowe & you, you should not doe well in myne opynion to suffer that former error to have any longer contynuance. Neyther doe I see howe you can suffer such to enjoye yt as will chalenge yt by the tytle of the fyrst distributors, but that you should therby confyrme the error & bynde your selves to contynue the same by namyng still some mo to fyll up the number of 30 as at fyrst, & therby doe wrong to all the rest that be come syns, or be to come hereafter, that are to be made partakers of yt by your disposition & discretion as you shall fynde theyr towardnes and necessite to requyre. I am easely inducyd to beleve that you fynde these courtly sewetes for money very tediousse & disagreeable to your mynde: for truly my self did fynde them so to me many yeares together; but therin you must exercise your pacience as not the least penance incident to our banyshment. And yf you dyde see the melancoly condytion & desolate lyfe which I passe & endure here in this tyme of fyre & flame you should se that I want not my part of tediousse travells & tourmoyles howesoever they may differ in qualytie from those which you & others do susteyne. In your letter from Montz you requyre me to performe for Mr. D. Vandeville the pleasure which you requyre of me in his behalf; but other mencion therof you make none in the world, nor expresse not by any lest sillable what the same ys nor wherin yt consisteth.

Belyke you ment to wryte yt in a paper aparte, & by the other cares of your mynde forgat yt when you made up your letter. In Portugalle newe treasons and conspiracies be discoveryd agaynst this Kyng, which maye occasion his retorne thens the soner. We heare not yet that Tercera ys recoveryd, nor where the Turks forc (e) s arryved at Algier shal be employed. A cyvile sedition ys also befallen Malta, where the Great Master ys ymprysoned by the knights of his order. The yong duke of Feria ys nowe free from his fever, & his mother not yet all free

therof; though none of bothe be in any peryll, as the doctors affyrme. Fayne I would heare what you can & will doe for Ro. Heightyngton, that I might resolve upon the rest, beying presently pressed with begging letters from England, from Lovayne, from Namur, from Remes, from Roam, from Parys & from Rome, and nothing here to be gotten, therof assure you. At Madryd, the 4th of Septemb., 1581.

Your owne frend,

F. ENGLEFYLD.

The death of Mr. D. Sander ys not yet conformed from England nor from Ireland, other then upon the report of Mr. Walsyngham and his company.

Addressed

To the right worshipfull & my assuryd good frynd, Mr. docter Allen. Reyms.

The letter which follows from Robert Southwell is without date; but as it was evidently written before he went on the English mission in 1584, it may be placed here. It is among the MSS. preserved at the English College, Valladolid.

I beseache you Mr. Edmunde doe me this favor to trooble Sir Francys Englefield a thyrde tyme in my behalf. That it wile please hym to let me be accountant to you in the hole for three score ryallstherndth to dryve out these fewe dayes that I am promised a certayn dispatche though perhapps an ill one. I would not trooble his honor this tyme wth wrytinge unto hym, humbly recommending my servyce unto him and to you all frendly goodwill wherein you shall

Command me allways Yo's

ROBT. SOUTHWELL.

One John Froste appears to have been sent at this period to Sir Francis Englefield on a matter of business, and on his return to England he was seized and thrown into Saltash prison. Froste states that the object of his visit to Spain was to negotiate the purchase of a manor by Sir Walter Rawleye of Sir Francis Englefield.

Froste writes to Mrs. Englefield from his prison at Saltash, Aug. 1, 1584, and requests "her, his mistress, to make some suit for his liberation," Mr. Edgecombe and Richard Carew, about the same date, wrote to Walsingham as follows:

We have arrested one John Froste lately arrived from Spain who stated that he had been sent to consult Sir Francis Englefield on the affairs of Sir Walter Rawleye. Have written to Sir Walter Rawleye on the subject.

It is rather singular that only two documents connected with Sir Francis Englefield are to be found of the period immediately preceding the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, viz., for the years 1585-6.

The one is a letter from the Queen to Sir Francis, and the other is said to be* an extract from a letter of Sir Francis to Mary. Both are among the Cecil Papers, and it is very probable that the former never reached its destination. The so-called extract appears to be more a *résumé* of the contents of a letter than an actual copy, and as such must be received with caution.

AN EXTRACT OF CERTAYNE LETARS ARGUING A RESOLUTION OF THE CATHOLIKS TO ENTITILE THE K OF SPAYNE TO THE CROWNE OF ENGLAND.

SIR FR. ENGLEFELD TO THE Q OF SCOTTES, FEB. 1585.

Hereupon Sir Frances Englefeld, the Papistes agent in Spayne, preessing yt King to prosecute the long intended enterprise for deliverye of the Scottish Q out of prison, and deposing her matie now raygning under color of reforming this state and reduction of the whole Ile to the catholike fayth (as they terme theyr relligion) useth this as his last and most effectuall argument to the sayd King. "Admitting yt the Q of Scotland escape all dangers during the life of this Q of England, yett since her passing through the same cannot be without the favor and frendshipp of hereticall authoritie it were neyther wisdom nor pollicie, but apparently prejudiciall to the Catholike Church to permitt her to acknowledg the savetye of her life and enjoying of her state to the favor of heretikes as also if she perish (which is now most likelie), it cannot be but very scandalows and infamows to your catholike matie becawse you being after the Q of Scotland, the nerest Catholike yt is to be fownd of yt blood royall shall ever be subject to the false suspicion and colomnation of leaving and abandonning yt good quene to be devoured by her enemies for making the way more open to his clayme and interest."

It will be seen by the letter which follows that the original of the foregoing, if it really existed, never reached its destination.

Q. OF S. TO SIR F. E. A.D. 1586. (Cecil Papers, 164-59.)

20 May, 1586, the Q of Scottes to Sir Frances Englefelde. Yowr two letters dated the 15th of December, 1584, and 12th of Januarye, 1585, with the coppies of relations therein mentioned came to my handes no soner then the (blank) of the last monthe. Since the 20th of December

* It is not in Sir F. Englefield's handwriting.

eyghtye-fowre I receaved none of yowrs nor of others abroade, neyther any other intelligence of the world sturring in any parte at all, the meane time before I had yowr foresayd accompanied with a number mo from others of a stale date as they were.

Most strayghtlye have I bene kept this longe time in this captivitye, more miserable then ever throwgh the disdayne and negligence of those yt were duly and often foretolde the inconveniences now happened both to them and me, I am sorrye of the taste wch I presume they have of theyr part thereof more then I am of my owne, and yt I am not able by proceedings past during this discontinuance of intelligence to judge how thinges may stande presentlye, being yett as sharpelye handled as ever since the change of my first garde, neyther know I in what manner or uppon wch grownd to take any cowrse in any thinge eyther towching this Isle or myselfe. Nor by any meanes cold I have advertised yow of this moch if it had not bene poore* Morgan (the chefe and almost the only finder owt and director of all the intercourse of intelligences I have had: these many yeares past, who hath, notwithstanding his trobles, appoynted me this way for the present, albeit nothing certayne to continue yett, so longe as it doh I will employe it, and hope by the same, before it be longe, if I can heare of any certaynty of the present state abroade to lett yow know amplye my opinion of the whole.

I thanke yow most hartelye for yowr continuall care of my well doing, wishing I were able to recognise the same in effect.

Continue, I pray yow, your good offices for poore Morgan, and I pray God to preserve yow. Of May the 20th, at Charteley.

Endorsed: 20 May, 1586, the Q. of Scottes to Fra. Englefelde.

(Contemporary Copy.)

It should be observed that the above is a copy, and not a letter in Queen Marie's handwriting.

On the 8th of February 1586 (1587 new style), Marie Stuart, after eighteen years' imprisonment, suffered death at the hands of the executioner. She protested to the last her innocence of any intrigue in deed or thought against Elizabeth's life or throne, and forgave and prayed for her and for those who had compassed her premature end.

Unfortunately I can find no letters from or to Sir Francis Englefield to give an insight to his feelings when the news of Marie's death reached him.

* "Morgan was agent in France of Mary Q. of Scots. Elizabeth declared that she would give £10,000 for his head. When she sent the garter to Henry III. she demanded that Morgan should be given up to her. Henry, knowing that Morgan could disclose unpleasant matters, satisfied her by sending Morgan to the Bastile and his papers to Elizabeth" (Cal. State Papers, 1586, 366, Dom. series).

In the May following Marie's execution an Englishman appeared at Madrid who called himself Arthur Dudley, and claimed to be the child of Queen Elizabeth by the Earl of Leicester. The particulars concerning him are to be found among the documents preserved at Simancus, and also in Ellis, 2nd Series, III., 136. He was taken prisoner at Passage, and eventually sent back to Madrid, where he was ordered to write an account of himself. This he did, and the English document was translated into Spanish for King Phillip by Sir Francis Englefield. The translation states that :

He, Arthur Dudley, is the reputed son of Robert Sotheron, once a servant of Mrs. Ashley, of Evesham, in Worcestershire. That he was differently educated to the rest of Sotheron's children, and that Sotheron, on his death bed, informed him of the secret of his birth, viz., that he was the son of Elizabeth by Leicester. The document goes into very minute details, which I have not thought worth while to transcribe. King Phillip granted him a pension, and treated him as a person of distinction.

The three letters which follow are transcribed from the originals preserved in the archives of the English College at Valladolid.

They contain nothing of importance so far as Sir Francis Englefield is concerned, but they throw considerable light on the sufferings which had to be endured by those priests who ventured on the English mission, and they give a very full account of the trial and death of the four Catholics (two priests and two laymen) executed at Oxford, July 5th, 1589.

Seth Foster, the writer of the first letter, was confessor of the nuns of Sion, who at that time were at Rouen. This community went from Rouen to Lisbon and there continued for about two hundred years ; they are now at Chudleigh in Devon. The two religious whose journey he describes were March and Vivian.

David Kempe, the writer of the second letter, was a Douay priest, and the date of his ordination is given in the Douay diaries.

The fifteen persons referred to in his letter as executed were : W. Dean, W. Gunter, R. Morton, T. Alford, James Claxton, R. Leigh, and W. Way, priests ; and H. Webley,

H. Moor, T. Felton, E. Shelley, R. Martin, R. Flower, Margaret Ward, and John Rock, lay persons.

Ans. 4, febr. 89.

Dated 1588—Decr. 4th.



JESUS MARIA.

In most humble maner I and o^r holl company salute y^r worshyp reight hartly & dewtifully beyng all in as great cōforth as ever I knewe thys company for the safe and joyfull returne of o^r towe lost chyldren & brothers, nether we nor thay any thyng repentyng of what so ever ys past for in them what so ever thay have suffered yt hayth (o^r lord be thankyd most hyly tharefore) redoundyd to gode greater honor touching the cōstant p^rfessing of thare fayth, and as for thare p^rservation upon the sea yt ys a playne demonstration of hys miraculus power who for the spaice of viij weeks sayling betwyxt Rotchell & England comittyed to most barbarus cruell men who dayling, threatennyng, and purposing to cast them over boord weare wth houlden not by any compassion mercy or any good will at all of thare kepers who cōtinally weare most raging & spitfully bent agaynst them, but only by god hym self who as yt weare violently stayed them. This holl viij weeks thay had no other foud or livyng save only beanes and water & yf at any tyme the beanes failed thay had a littill portion of browne bread to thayre water the other in the shyp w^{ch} had no charge of them seing thare allowance so bad and littill they cried to thare kep dayly ether geve them some meate or cast them into the sea lett us not se them dy thus lyk dogge amongst us sayng thay must needs wth that dyet fall into some cōtagius disease & so weare lyke to infecte the holl shyp whearfore rather cast them into the sea thay all thys tyme sitting all thre fettered in irons every hower redy & lowkyng to dye thar jorney was thus long by reason of great wynds and cōtrarye tempest wheare of as thay said the pepysh [monks] was the cause & in the tyme of strome thay would wth faire speatches desyre them to pray for faire wether p^rmissing them meate the other refused not to pray but when a calme was comed then thay as cruell as before dyd not spare to abuse and threaten them beyng at the last arived in Devenshyer thay weare carryed to the Erle of Bathe to be examined who having in tymes past had acquaintance wth Brother Marshe though then he would not acknowledge yt yet of hys servants thay had such enterteament as tharby ther cruell kepers weare sumwhat couldd & o^r brethren delivered to others more civill & reasonable hys letter & examination of them w^{ch} he sent to the concell was nothyng at all agaynst them and as o^r brothers thynkt as favorable as he durst in such a matter to be bryef thay weare examined altogether as other Katholyks and prests weare thay pleadyng that thay weare banyshed c. all was to no purpose thay weare in the same danger of death as the other prests weare that weare executed thare answers beyng as plaine & absolute as any of them all, they had p^rpared towe whyt cots to dy in & wth in

towe weeks of thys danger the Man w^{ch} I sent wth letters in thare behalf to the concell obtained thare delivery very happily throwe the great seute of the French Embassator & throwe the letters dyd specefy but them towe only yet in the seute such friendship was mayd that all thre weare delivered so that M^r Kempe also ys heare in Roan who hayth ben syke sence hys comyng but nowe ys recovered god be thankyd. thys one thyng I thought good to note unto yowre wth of the Spanyshe navy w^{ch} ys the cōfession of the Englysh enymies that weare pnt at the first appearance of the armado to the englysh whose navy was then in Plimouth haven & not redy yet the Admirall p^rpared spedily a certayne number of shypps to stop the armado from entrance that way in to the straits, bot that p^rparation was at the fyrst frustratyed by the spanyers who cumyng on wth the wynd dyd wth no difficulty beat them to the banks, and forsed them to enter into haven & yf the spanyshe armado havyng the wynd had then taken thare advantage of that porte & the navy thare the enemy I say cōfesseth that then all had ben tharse the spanyshe navy beyng so myghty & the Englyshe beyng oute of that vantage w^{ch} they had when the Armado passed them for then the Englysh followyng them behynd had both the advantage of the wynd & the liberty of the seas wth thare lyght vessells w^{ch} was thare only safty, at the Passing of the armado throwh the straits all prests gentell men & others catholyks p^rsoners weare all closly kepte very straitly so that thay could not heare any thyng at all to or fro Layster yet levyng yt was agreed by the concell that all catholyks should be executyd after the w^{ch} cōclusion he parting frome the courte was dead before he could come to hys howse at Killingworth & at that tyme the execution was deferred the w^{ch} Hadden the Lord Chancellor obtained for 14 dayes who had maid a request to the Quene to that and yet afterward many weare sent to div^rse places & thare executyd thare names heare I send yowe as also the names of all p^reests & laye that have ben martyred this yeare 88 wth the names of those that have fayled or lord geve the other catholyks cōstancy and p^rseverance in theis most cruell tymes for the danger that thay remaine in ys mervilus great lastly or brothers & all or house do most deutyfully salute y^r wth most humble thanks for all y^r bontifull goodnesse every way p^rformed towards the w^{ch} nowe thay being comed home we have recontyd mor p^rticularly then we could understand yt before for the w^{ch} & infinite other yowre great favors & benifyts we all remaine bounde unto yⁱ wth for ever. my L^{or} or reverend mother comendeth hyr self most humbly unto y^r wth. thus beseching or lord allwayes p^rserve y^r wth. I take my leave thys 4 of December 1588.

Yowre w. ever most dewtifully,

SETH FFOSTER.

[Addressed] To the reight worshipfull

S^r FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD, Knyght,
Madrid.

[Endorsed] Fr. SETH FOSTER 4 x^{bris} 1588.

Ans. Aprilis 89.

Dated Decr. 22 1588.



JESUS MARIA

Right worshipfull I thought it my Dewty (to whom I have bene soe miche bownd unto) to adv'tise you of my safe arrivall here in Roane the w^{ch} I never expected; But I reffer all to the wonderfull goodnes of god after my deptur from you in Madride I Ridd in carr till I cam to Burgos where wee townd the scotishe priest Sir James whoe gave us as good int'taynment as he could, there hence I fotted it out unto Bilbow: where as sone as we arrived we herd of the deptur of twoo greate ships the w^{ch} were Bownd to the river of Nante of the w^{ch} passage we were very glade wthin 2 or 3 dayes went to Portigalletto where the ships were & wthin a day ther came a very pleasant wynde the w^{ch} we toke, the maister of the ship y^t we went in told us that the othere ship and his were sworne on to annother of thē, But when we cam to the sea a dayes saylinge there arose a great tempest, & wee severed on from annother soe that wee mette noe more & beinge one the seas about 8 dayes there came in our course a ship of Rochell at the first our shipe accounted nothinge of him, we sayled together a whole night: our ship might very well have gone from him she feared him nott notwithstandinge in the end we yeldid wthout any stroke of either ptie & to Rochell we were caried & there straytly examined we told the playnly of our jorney this helped the matter little but wee were kept 3 weeks in prison there & beinge an Englishe man there in prison as he sayd wrongefully whose nam was Nicols he told me that he had bene here in Madrid as I remēber he sayd 20 weeks together & told me m^r P'diaux was a besie foelowe Sir francis Inglefyld could not stur abrod this felowe procured the cariedg of us into Ingland of the Kynge of Navarr as we supposed he gave us the truth is delicate cheer when we were at sea for that he bare us good will & also for my lord Treasourours sake because he had willed him to bringe him a cupple of friers our Chere was sower Beans & stinckinge water wth the w^{ch} I thank god I never felt the colleck or any other sicknes & wthout any breade 8 weeks together & truely sir it is somewhat lothsom to tell, 10 Thowsand companions wth six legs I cannot tell you the whole storie because it will aske great tyme & also to lay down everie pticuler it wold ask Help indeade the Best Jorney that ever I made better then my pilgrimage would have bene all to our Ladies of Loretto we were landed in Devonshire by Bastable & caried before the leutenant of Corwall & Devonshire & examined very hardly againe & then sent to london wth our examinations: (I should have told you y^t wee were 8 weeks going betwixt Rochell & Ingland) & imp'soned in the Marshalseys in sowthwork where we were close p'soners for moneth & then a fortnights liberty of the p'son then heringe of the spanishe Navi we were shote up Close againe & so continued till we came into france the 8 of Novenber we cam from London when the Navi was past away then they begane to deale wth p'soners to examen the to know what they would doe & many in-

terrogations they mad that at on tyme they executed 15 the on a womane for conveinge awaye of a priest y^t was in Bridwell p'soner the womans name was margaret w[o]rd or Warde I know not whither att another tyme 4: 3 priests & a layman at * Canterberi, also 3 priests more 2 executed at † Chichester & the other I know nott the place Robinson at Ipswich his name att annother 4: ‡ 2 priests & 2 § Laye men the priests executed for comminge into the Realim against the lawes of the Realme the laymen because the were Reconciled it was thought if leceter had lived y^t all theise y^t would have denied to goe to Church should have bene hanged forthth there were also gentlewomen condemned to dye for receaving of priests [the] hir nam was m^{rs} Whiet at Westminster the other on m^{rs} Lowe dwelling by sowthworke as longe as the navi was against England wee were very quiet but After that they pceved the Navi past they begane to Ransack the catholiques, we hard that leceter died wth a great Burning & smelled after he was ded that noe man might com nere him wee herd also when he was in the camp he had som overtwart there of on Sir John Smith in essex whoe was Coronell of all essex Certayne captaynes came out of flanders & leceter would they should have had som governmēt of soldiers & he sent to Sir J. Smith for som. S^r J. S. cam to him; him self being Coronel & told him & that he might spare none of his soldiers because they were gentlemē & farmers & tenants of they gentlemen that were under him & told my lord, that they were better gentlemē thē the Captaynes they should goe unto . moreover they were unknowē unto them & the p^mised there service unto him In hir maiesties Behalf & would live and dye wth S^r Jo. Smith Where at leceter should frone & S^r J. S. answered him playnly againe if he wold have any of his soldiers he should wind thē by the sworde S^r John Peter came in also and used words to the same effect and many other of great worship of the Countrie after w^{ch} speches Leceter left the, this I may be somewhat to longe in this matter Now for our delyvery out of Prison I knowe howe it was at our first Bringing up to London the frenc Ambassadour mad a motion for our deliveri it was not denied him nether granted I think there of Sion mad som other meane By the governoure of Roane who sent his p^{rs} to S^r Francis Walsingame for there delivery & they were forthth delivered it pleaseth god wee should come hither againe because wee were not worthie of that Crowne of Mart: Sir for the singuler care you had of me whē I was wth you I cann doe nothing els for it but to praye to god to repaye it home agayne in Haeven thes wth my most humble Dewty remēbred unto the Duches hir grace also unto your self a Thowsand tymes most Hartyly & also m^r Wentworth god reward him for his paynes he hath taken wth me & to

* R. Wilcox—Edward Campion—E. Buxton, priests; and R. Widmerpool, layman.

† R. Crockett—E. James.

‡ Executed in London: W. Hartley—J. Weldon and R. Williams, priests: and R. Sutton, layman.

§ This is an error, there were three priests and one layman.

Edmū Driar this commēding unto allmightie god from Roane the 22 of December 1588.

Your David Kempe Pr :

[Addressed] To the Right worshipfull Sir francis Inglefild
geve these in Madrid.

Ans. 9 Decemb. ✠ 89.

Right wor : about the begynneinge of this instant, I answered yo^r of the 7 of August, acquainting yo^r w : wth such occurrents as y^e p'sent tyme dyd minister, and my self accounted worthy yo^r redinge, for the p'sent touchinge our ynglyshe pcedings, they have sent souccors of men & other things to Navarre as he required under y^e conduct of the L. Wyllbye, this ys sayd and cōfyrmēd by bres from calis, whose advises be not alwayes of the surest. w^{ch} wyll fale furth accordinglye yf the newes bruited in the burse yesterday prove true, viz. y^t the Duke du mayne had taken Deepe and y^t sundrye ynglyshe shippes were sonke & taken there, of the cōfirmation I earnestly harken before I daire avouch yt for true, of this hope & cōforth I am, and y^t by the late advises I receyved from o^r frends At roan, that yf the Duke have not as yet gayned the towne and put Navarre to the foyle or flyght, y^t he wyll doe shortly, cōsydering besyd the goodnes of his cause, the meanes or media he hath viz. of 40000 men in the feild & upward to accomlishe his purpose as m^r shelton wryteth. meane season he gayneth of Navarre daylye sundry victories, geveing the overthrowe to him & his wen so ever he fyndeth them.

There came of late 4 ynglyshe catholyks to this cittye from yngland, Who report there crueltye to increase dayly, as appeared by an execution done about two monethes or more, upon two seminary preists & two lay men, Who apprehended in Oxford at the Kateryne wheele, being an ynne, were fyrst cōvēted before the Vice chancelar cōmissaries and other justices, did cofesse them selves to be catholyks all, and after some fewe dayes, were sent up to the p'vy counsell, Where Walsingham demaūdinge yf the weare preists, one of them called m^r George Nicols preist of y^e seminarye dyd cofesse y^t he was, ergo sayeth Wals: A traytor, cui Nicols. I never hard or redde y^t to be a preist, especially emonge chrystian people was to be termed A traytor, neyther were they so taken wth our forefathers, but had in all reverence, especially At Saint Austine fyrst preaching the fayth, whereto Wals: replied lyke him self as yo^r honor may Imagine. m^r Yaxleye the other was called, who sayd beinge demanded y^t he was A catholyke gentleman, the thyrd was one m^r Belson A knewen catholyke gent : y^e 4 Humphrey Prichard a Welshman was servant of y^e house where they were taken A sound catholyke. The preists were sent to brydwell where seorsim they were for the space of 15 howers hanged up by the wrestes of the hands, And after lett downe. Tyrrell and tyllertt [sic] Apostata preists, brought in to cōfront them, especially m^r yaxlie who they testified to be A seminary preist, And D. Webbes camerado, he was here upon sent to the tower & threatened the racke, and m^r Nicols lett downe into A Deepe Dongeon full of Venemous

Vermyn where he remayned for A season ; And after one month they with the two others were sent downe to Oxford, where at an open assisse they were cōdemned by the verdyte of A purytane quest, pyked out of purpose, And after executed they all taking there Death in most cōstant & courageous sort, not so much but y^e poore servant sayd, Testyfye wth me I pray yo^u, y^e I dyed catholyke to whom, when A p^rtestant replyed, what ? thou knowest not what yt ys to be a catholyke, sayeth he What I can not say in word, I wyll seale wth my bloude. yt were to longe to recyte all there disputes wth the purytanes & other there godly sayeinges & examples, w^{ch} all I have wryten to his grace more at large. sence this execution they begynne to execute there wycked statute more stryctly & severelye.

Therle of essex carieth credyt only nowe in court Raully packed A way as we heare as the poyet sayeth successore novo vincitur omnis amans.

Syr francis Knowles was one pryncipall psecutor of these good preists even to there Death where he was p^rsent.

Not thre dayes agoe an old servante sonne to therle of West : arryved heare, who reporteth much of the redy & prepared mynde of the North parts to the assistance of such as shall go about the reformation in religion, emonge other thinges he recounteth A strange wonder w^{ch} befell in those parts after the Armado was passed Viz. of the sound of drmmes hard by A towne of therles called Elwycke not farre from leere poole, soundinge styll, Alarme all arme, w^{ch} was so evident A thinge, that after the fyrst discoverye thousands came from farre, yea from London to hearken after yt, yea A poysoned p^rtestant supposing yt to be done by some sorcery, caused the ground there the sound was to be dygged the diggers entered so farre heareing styll the sound & could not overtake yt, that they were in fyne so fryghted y^e mounting out of there cave, wold never returne to assayle yt againe, this sound beganne upon the feast of purification or there about And ended about the feast of Annunciatiō. Being at the spaa the yeare y^e Armado was to come forward, an old ynglyshe preist told me then & there, before the fleete was sett out, y^e the game should begynne betwene John & James as yt dyd, and be faced to passe about the Ilands fayling of there purpose, but that the Aegle chycke should returne againe shortly after, and gaine the victory, by the help of the Dragon & bull, thus have I unfolled my bugget after my rude wonted manner nothing douting of yo^r honors frendly acceptation Wysheng to yo^r honor yo^r harts desyre I end wth my humble cōmēdations to yo^r self & the good father to whom I pray you impart what I wryte & tell him I longe to heare from him.

Antuerpe 19 of oct^{ber} 1589.

I suppose Syr W^m stanley wylbe wth you before these come to yo^r hands yf he be there p^rsent my harty cōmēdations I besych yo^r honor to him.

[Addressed]

To the honorable knight

Syr FRANCIS ENGLEFEILD

A Madryd.

[Endorsed]

De martiribus & troubles of Syon, and
namely Syster ELZABETHE SANDERS.

In a document among the State Papers dated May 21, 1591* there is a statement by John Snowden (J. Cecil the informer), of the English Jesuits in Spain. He includes in his list Sir Francis Englefield, whom, he says, has 600 crowns a year and more if he demands it, and is entirely one with the Cardinal and parsons, &c.

Needless to say, Englefield, being a layman, could not have been a Jesuit. The inclusion of his name in this list of members of the Society shows that the belief then existed that every Catholic priest and any prominent and active Catholic layman must of necessity be a Jesuit.

In June and July 1593 I find two documents among the State Papers which seem to contradict each other. The first is a long letter from John Vincent to Sir Francis Englefield, in which he asks the prayers of Sir Francis for Queen Elizabeth and the state of England. The second purports to be the voluntary confession of Gilbert Laton, who charges Sir Francis Englefield and others with practising the Queen's destruction.

If Vincent, who was a friend of Sir Francis, and no doubt well aware of his feelings, could write in such a strain, it is not very likely that Laton's confession is truthful. It may be also noted that many so-called voluntary confessions were extorted by torture, and if this was of that nature, little reliance is to be placed on a statement made by a poor wretch to escape from his pains.

In the same year (1593) there are five letters among the MSS. preserved at Valladolid. They are written to Sir Francis Englefield by persons non-resident in England, and by those who would have been certain to refer to any plot against the English Queen if Sir Francis had been in any way connected with it.

Lengthy as these communications are, they are quite innocent of treason, and refer chiefly to ordinary gossip, or to the private affairs of the correspondents. It is true Wideslade sends to Sir Francis a package of suppressed books and makes him a present of a copy of one of them.

Stanhurst writes of the projected Irish rebellion in a way that would satisfy the most ardent Unionist of the present day,

* Cal. State Papers, Dom. series.

and his allusion to the O'es and Mackes is somewhat amusing.

Sir F. ENGLEFIELD: Valladolid Papers. June 1593.

JESUS.

Right Worshipfull, after my mooste humble hartie salutations, these are ones more to trouble you. I have written unto you before, for the deliverie of a letter to the Provincial of the Jesuits from their General in my behalfe which I hope you have receaved with myne. But now I ryght hastilye beseech you to receave from the bringer herof twentie Bookes which my Lord Cardinall Allayne gave unto me to bestow at my pleasure in Spayn they ar contra edictum reginæ anglîæ & because I had not sufficient to pay for the carriage of them I am to pray you to lay it out for me til I com & be able to repay you. The price is for 26 pounds wight to pay eyght rials for the carriage from Barcelona to Madrid & so after that rate yt it please you you may take one at your owne use & also (yf father Person & father Creswell be in Madrid) you may geve to eyther of them one. but I would gladly geve one to Don John de ya . . . & to Don Martin, myselfe nor would I they should have any knowledge of them before I came. Whiche shalbe as sone as I can. & so for this time I leave to trouble you & commend you to God this 23th of june 1593.

Barcelona

Yours to command

TRISTRAM WIDESLADE.

dorso.—

A Don Francesco Inglefilde ca
valero Inglese
nel collegio deles
Jesuitas l'ogliarn Madrid.

Mr. Wynslade 23 June
rec 31 July 1593.

in Sir F.
E.'s hand

Jayme Laguerda al mison de
los carros casa Dumbarnero.



Right worshipfull y^r of the 21th of this present I received yesternight verie late & glad I was to heer of yo^r good health : & bicaus I have now but litle leisure by reason of my wyves churching this day I hoape you will pdon me though I be so short.

according to you will me I shall repayre shortly to Scuriall godd willing. I ā glad my brother hath written [so muche] unto you I hoape he wil doo for me.

I canot tell what to make that o^r cedulas for lisbo be not yet firmid by the King as the officers tell us. they say wee shall have o^r sedulas & ordre for o^r müey togither, w^{ch} godd grante.

M^r pickefort is god be thanked recoverid & was yesterday in the afternoone to visite us. I doubt not but he will leave ordre for the paymēt of suche müey as he oweth you.

yo^r commendacons to my coosin Whyte are doon & the linē also deliverid w^{ch} came from his brother. heer hath bin a chaling of late between Don pedro de toledo the marquese of Villa franca & the Condé of Melgare, &

the marquese went far out of towne to stay for the Condé, but the Justice heering of it preventid them both & so they be prison's in their owen houses, but whearaupon the chaling was I heer not as yett. heerafter you shall heer more of this matter. I thanke you hartely for the speciall care you have of us : it seemith god will not now forsake us in this or distressed case

And thus in hast wth my wyves & my most hartie commendacons unto you I comit you to godd

At Madrid this 24 of July 1593

Y^r always to
command

WILLIA COPLEY.

m^r felton fell sicke on

Munday last of dooble tercians in w^{ch}

she remaynith still I knew not of it till last night : & this afternoone I shall se her god willing. all the cartes of Madrid be yester night sent to lisbo to bring the cardenals stuffe frō thence : so as the cardinalls comig hether wilbe shortly

M^r Orton hath deliverid to me 66 rials for father gibbons according to his own ordre of w^{ch} I acknowledged the receipt to father gibbons on saterday last & by his w^{ch} I reed on Wensday last he requestid me to desyre you to pay him the same thear & I to pay it heer to who you shall apoint. I doo now write to the father that he himself speake to you about this & that I have written to you therin & according as it shall please you to doo I ā redy. o^r nurse is sicke of [stulles?] & great head ache. & so weake that she canot sustayne 2 childrē so as wee must keepe marie frō the brest as inuche as wee can though wee dare not yet weane her for the great heats heer & and the breeding of teeth.

[Addressed]

To the right worshipfull
his verie good friend S^r
france Englefield

Valladolid.

[Endorsed]

m^r Copley 24 July
rec the 28.

Sir F. ENGLEFIELD: Valladolid Papers. 2 Aug., 1593.

Right worshipfull & the very honor of our nation (in all these so great & extreeme persecutions) my most humble dewty remembred unto you wth most humble thanks for all yo^r charitable goodnes so bountyfully bestowed uppon mee w^h, though I bee utterly unable to recompense any waye ; yet shall I during lyfe most hartely pray for your woorship, and also will bee most willing & redy to doo you any my poore service to the uttermost adventure of my lyfe in anything it may please your woorship to comaund, desiring Our Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin, & all the holy company of heaven ; long to bless you & contyneue you heere amongst us for his service, & to your owne profite & Salvatione, & to our

comfort & succour. Sir, I thought it my duty by the fitness of this opportunity of the fathers coming to signify unto your worship how all things stand with mee at this present. I delivered your favorable letter unto Don John, the 25 of July being Sunday, and spake not with him till Saturday, the last of the same month, at w^h tyme I discoursed with him at large of the matter & hee asked mee of many particulars thereof, and after half an houres speech hee willed me to come agayne on Monday, the second of this August, w^h is tomorrow which I now expect, thus not having anye good newes to write unto your worship I end; resting for ever at your good comandment, & praying God to contynue in you the increase of restored yeers in all happiness, & in the end to reward you with reward of the heavenly joyes.

Your worships most bounden for ever &

most willing to serve you,

JOHN DOUGHTY.

In dorso: To the Right Worshipful S^r Francis Inglefield, Knight, give these at Vallyadelid.

Jn^o Doughty the 2 Aug., 93^y
ed. the 4th } in S^r F. E. Englefield's handw.
1593.

SIR F. ENGLEFIELD: Valladolid Papers, Aug. 2, 1593.

RIGHT WURSHIPFUL.

Three of your wurship his letters came to my hands and as touching my discourse wrytten to my brother Copley: yt grew of a letter, which he wrote me wherein he dyd signifye that he was in doubt whether he would accept the king his offer or refuse yt! and hereof proceded myne answer to hym. Now that the doubt which I dyd forecast is cleered and that my brother his meaning was not to refuse y^t, but that y^t should run on, as y^r wurship hath discretely written, I moved the formour suit a fresh to Don parsons [Johan] no later than yesterday being the first of August. His answer was that he hath almost ended y^t, and that he hath very great hoope to compasse y^t shortley. Then I yeelded his senioria most humble thankses for having that care on my brothers suite; and thereupon I tooke occision to tel hym, that of al others who are exiled out of theyr countreys his case is most cleere, that he departed his countrey & forsook as fayr a living as any owt of his countrey being no more than a gentleman (or of any other [? quoth] I, whom I know, except Don Francisco & a very few others) & all that dyd he forsake only for his conscience. I have understoode so much [? quoth] he; & then he began to comend my sister in law & her good qualities, in very ample termes. She wrote me [? quoth] he, a latin letter when his majestie was in Aranjoas, so wel pend that y^t might becom a doctour to wry^t it. Truly, [? I] I doe assure y^r senioria that the letter was wholy of her owne enditing. Certenly [?] he, y^t is a rare matter and I have the letter, and doe purpose to keepe y^t stil. This was the effect of the communication

that past betwene his senioria and me of mye brother his affayres which dyd content me greatlye.

Touching myne owne affayres, I have not dewlt as yeet wyth his Maiestye, nor wyth any of his officers, and doe purpose to use silence until such tyme as I have acomplished such matters as are expected of me heere. H. A. xv. dayes his Maiestye dyd apoynt to visit my wurkes, but the psysicions proceeding in theyre woonted malice, dyd diswade his Majesty, saying the walk was long from his chamber to the wurkhouse, & in the canicular (dog days) y^t might be dangerous for hym to enter in to these treates of the fyres and to smel to these strong waters. With sundry such bible bables: too tedious to be wrytten. But I would have y^r wurship understand how O^r Lord, of His sweete providence, turned theyre malice too my securitye; for y^t hapned a iiij or five dayes after his Majestie had stooles which dyd somewhat distemper hym, and yf he had visited the wurkes as he was ones resolved to doe you may guess how many divisions the docters would have made on this playnsong inputing his disease to his repayre thither. But God hath so wrought that his Maiestye is in health, and I doe rest blamelesse. I told this in secret to S^r Don Johan, and in truth he dyd agree to y^t, that y^t was God his especial providence, and he lyked wel of my resolutions, not to motion oght in mye particulare affayres until such tyme as the wurkes were accomplished.

Of Flanders wea heer no good newes: only the new gouvenor is expected there by the last of September.

Of France, I have seene a letter of a Spanish capitayn, wrytten to Don Johan, who the siege of Bloyas is rayسد; a 300 were slayne by the Spanyardes and certyn French who issued out of the castel, and but one slayne & iiij wounded of o^r part: the enymye heerewyth discouraged marched away, leaving theyr . . . and trenches emptye. Thus the Spanish capitayne wryteth who is theare and was one of theym who assaulted the enymye.

Touching M^r. Paget his dealing: I wil undertake to tel his tale to Don Johan before I be xv dayes elder: & wil decipher the hollow hert [heart], he & his companions have alwayes borne the Spanish partye. Y^r wurship hath doon discretly to passe the canicular [dog] dayes in Valid[?] (Valladolid). For al men complayn of the excessive heates of Madride. And thus wishing too y^r wurship at contentment I take my leave.

S. laurēce.

the second of August 1593

Y^r wurships assuryd to command

RECHARD STANYHURST.

In dorso. To the right wurshipful

Sy^r Frances Englefield

Knight

Valid^d

M^r Stanhurst 2 Aug 93
rec the 4th Ans 11.
1593

} in Sir F. E's hand.

Sir F. Englefield, Valladolid Papers.

Aug. 16, 1593.

RIGHT WURSHIPFUL

Upon my brother Copley his repayre thither (for whom I dyd send by reason the councele, his frend is heere) I receaved y^r wurship his letter of the xith of this present, & my resolution touching my brother his affayres, I take to be best, that first wee obteyne hym to be de la *casa*; and after, when I shall negotiat wyth his maestye for myne owne affayres, I wil *suffle* that demand of . . . to &c. as a motion of myne owne, in respect of the alliance between us.

And doubtlesse I take this to be the safest way.

I have harde the Frenche newes bruted in this place before I wrote y^r wurship my last letter, and yeet because it seemed to me wholly ridiculous I would not empart y^t y^r w. [worship]. But since I have seen a letter dated from Paris of the 12 of July wrytten by a Spanyard, who doth affirme y^t most constantly, & that upon the repayre of the king his armye which lyeth in the . . . frountyers the accord & election shal be published.

But from theese great men heere a man can neather ferret, nor fish oght only Don Jhoan & Don Cristopher have more secret meeting heere in the monastery; than they were woont to have, and are perusing letters & other papers O^r l. [Lord] knoweth, what they emport.

But now that I am fallen in these matters of state, I can not choose but advetise y^r wurship of a great ambassage sent to his manestye by no meaner personage, than an archebishop. You may see by these woonder that parturiunt montes: and the rest wil fal owt to be true.

Syr the matter is this, as I have been enfourmed a ij monthes past. The Irish primat hath labored wyth som of his Irish lordinge. I meane their oes and mackes: to accept of the king of Spayne to be their king: and the archebishop of Towmoud [Thomond] is sent for ambassad^r. Hee arrived in Madrid secretly the 15 of this moneth: and would not have me know thereof as yeet: as Dennys telleth mee.

The matter of y^t self is so rediculous as I think myself bound in conscience, to forwarne his maiestye of the ficklenesse, weaknesse, of these people, being in deede wyth us of the English pole of noe reputation in the world. I purpose too draw out certayn poyntes of these affayres to Don Johan *Idiaques*, whereby his senioria may be armed before the archbishop his arrival: & when I have ended theym I wil present y^r wurship a cotype. This you may impart to the father, and yf he wryte a few lynes to Don Johan touching the vanity of this message, I suppose it wil not be amisse: that his opinion and myne came too geather.

Touching the *entrettenidos* in Flanders there is doubt lesse soom order taken for theym: but y^t wil not be published until the Archeduke Ernesto his repayre thither I suppose the *numbre* shal not be so great nor the pensions so large but the payment shal be better

Mr. Antonye Standon is gon for England: he wrote from Cales to certayn

of his frendes in Flanders, that he will continew a Catholick stil which
o^r Lord graunt. but I suppose he wil not be a Spaynish Catholik.

In my next conference wyth Don Johan Idiaques I wil not fayle to deale
earnestly wyth his senioria for Mr Fitzherbert, & Mr Owen

Touching the seminary of Douay, & the . . . nts of sion I refer yr
wurship too the FATHER . . . ter

Heere wee make no accompt of the *comet*, but remit y^r wholly too these
petty kinges & Queens of the North partes, as Denmark England & Scot-
land. The King God be thanked is in health His maiesty went about
the cloyster in procession on S. Laurence his day & on the assumption of
O^r Ladye. His legges are very smal He useth a litle short sticke, & he
doth not stoup at alle. I had the more leasure & better oportunity to
survey his M, from top to tou: by reason that in both the processions
wee were not past a xvj persons in the trayne

The Prince went wyth hym the first day in procession but the second
tyme his alteza was absent being troubled wyth a cattar. but is of no
moment And thus having no more to trouble y^r wurship wythal for this
present I take my leave

S Lawrence the 16th of August 1593

Y^r wurshippes most
assured to command

RICHARD STANYHURST.

In dorso

To the right worshipful
Sy^r Frances Inglefeld
Knight &c Valid^d

Mr Stanhurst 16 August
rec the 23th 93
ans the 24 93

In the Calendar of State Papers, Dom. ser., for the year 1595,
there is a list of answers given by Wright to certain questions
which had been addressed to him. The following refer to Sir
Francis Englefield :

9.—I know of no Englishmen attendant at the court (of Spain) except
Father Creswell, Sir Francis Englefield, Thomas Morgan, *Cecil the priest*,*
and a few of small account.

10.—Creswell has no pension, Englefield 60 crowns a month well paid.

11.—As to Sir Francis Englefield's disposal of his time : he says that
having one foot in the grave he must prepare for eternity ; but yet two
years since he set out a book on the pretenders to the Crown of England
and who are likely to prevail.

* This Cecil was not a Jesuit, his real name was Snowdon ; he was a spy
in the pay of Cecil the minister. A letter from him to Secretary Cecil
follows.

2.—He is not fully * blind. He depends most upon Don Juan Idiaques.

13.—No Englishman besides Parsons have ability to deal in matters of policy except Sir Francis Englefield and Creswell.

Answer No. 11 refers no doubt to a book entitled "A Conference on the Next Succession to the Crown of England." This was first published about 1592. It was suppressed by Act of Parliament 35 Eliz. To keep a copy of it was high treason. The book was reprinted at Namur in 1681.

The evidence connecting Sir Francis Englefield with this book seems to be a letter from Parsons to a friend, dated May 24, 1604, and the statement by Wright in his answers above given.

It will be seen by reference to the letter dated 1593 that Wideslade sends Sir Francis a package of suppressed books, no doubt the book in question, and he tells him he may keep a copy for himself. If Sir Francis was joint author, one is disposed to think that he would not have depended on this chance gift for a specimen of his work.

A copy of this book is in the library of the British Museum, 292 f 21, and on the fly-leaf is written, "This piece was the production of Card. Allen, Inglefield, and others."

Whoever were the authors, there is certainly nothing in the book which to the nineteenth century mind seems to call for its suppression. It is just such an examination of facts concerning the succession as might appear in a magazine of the present day without comment.

The headings of the various books into which this proscribed work is divided are briefly as follows :

Book I. The next propinquity or ancestry of Bloud alone, though it were certainly known, yet it is not sufficient to be admitted to a Crown without other condition and circumstances requisite to be found also in the person pretendent.

Book II. Examineth the titles and pretentions of all such as may have claim or action to the Crown of England at this day and what may be said of them, and what against them. And in the end, though he leave the matter entirely doubtful, as touching the best right, yet he give certain conjectures about some persons that are likely to prevail.

* In the letter dated 1596 to Mr. Roger Baynes it will be noticed that Sir Francis states that for more than twenty-four years he has been unable to write or read.

The titles of pretenders are not so clear as when Elizabeth came to the throne. The authority of her Majesty (Elizabeth) is that which at this present overbeareth all, when that shall fail, no man knoweth what the event will be, for that now no men's hearts are hardly discerned.

It goes on to argue that the

Protestants would favour Arabella Stuart, the Puritans James VI. of Scotland. The Roman Catholics "who they incline to is not known." That those likely to prevail are, if foreign, the Infanta; if domestic the second son of the Earl of Hartford or the issue of the Countess of Derby; for the children of the Countess Derby are nearer by one degree to Henry VII. than any other competitor whatsoever.

The son of the Earl of Hartford is young, and his religion not talked of, so each party might hope to draw him. Hartford's eldest son is not legitimate.

Whatever may be thought of this book, it seems hardly possible that Sir Francis Englefield could have taken any very active part in its production, for he had been blind, or nearly so, for some years before it appeared.

Sir Francis, in his letter to Baynes, given below, seems to have formed an opinion that some whom he had trusted, owing to his helpless condition, were unworthy of the confidence he had bestowed on them.

Cecil, whose letter to Secretary Cecil follows, was, probably, one of these, and therefore his communication must be taken with caution.

J. Cecil,* writing to Secretary Cecil,† says :

I brought with me certain letters of Father Parsons' and Sir Francis Englefield's own hand to show that there are irons in the fire for divers places, but especially for Ireland and Guernsey.

It would be highly interesting if these letters conveyed by Cecil could be found, as we should then have an opportunity of judging whether they were mere budgets of news written to some friend in England or of a more incriminating character.

They might very well have been quite as harmless as Stanhurst's communication to Sir Francis on similar subjects.

There is a reference made to Sir Francis Englefield in a letter from Dr. Gifford to Thomas Throckmorton (1595).‡ The

* This is Cecil the informer. See foot-note, *ante*.

† Cal. State Papers, Dom. series, Dec. 30, 1595.

‡ Cal. State Papers, Dom. series.

subject spoken of is the choice of either Parsons, Cassano, or Cajetan for a Cardinal's hat, and Sir Francis seems to have had some voice in the matter, for Gifford writes: "Sir Francis Englefield causes all this broil by favouring first one, then the other."

The reference to the blindness of Sir Francis Englefield made by Wright in his answers is confirmed in a letter written by Sir Francis to Mr. Roger Baynes in the last year of his life, 1596. An extract is as follows:

SIR FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD TO MR. ROGER BAYNES.

Madrid, 10th May 1596.

Archives of Westminster V., 172.

Beinge nowe more the(n) 24 yeares synce myselfe could write or reade, and having in that tyme treated with so many greate personages on matters important by the eies & pennes of such servantes as I trusted, you will hold me excused though I cannot but feale a little this dyffidence of my servantes & distrust of my choise by him or you.

Earlier in this same year Sir Francis had addressed a letter to Mr. Thomas Hesketh (Jan. 27, 1596). The entire letter appears to be missing, but a lengthy extract from it is preserved among the archives of Westminster,* and is as follows:

SIR FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD TO THOMAS HESKETH.

Spain, January 27, 1596.

A clause of a letter of Sir Francis Englefieldes to Mr. Thomas Hesketh of the 27 of January, 1596.

The rest of your letter, being in deffence of the wronge charge wherewith you had burthened me in your former letters, demandeth no greate replie, as well for that all I said thereof was upon the expresse wordes of your former letters to me, as also for that you acknowledge either not to remember them or to deeme them more worthie of blame then justification, which ys recompence enughe for my satisfaction. Yet this point I can & do avvere unto you, that I knowe, to whom the Busshop of Cassano wrote expressly, that your deer uncle tould him by his owne mouthe som monthes before he died, that he had no meaninge nor intention to goe to Flanders, insinuatinge withall that he writt yt to this ende that the King heare might be undeceived of your uncles meaninge, & not to expecte at his handes that which your uncle meante not performe & this do I know who hath yt of the Busshopes owne writinge.

* Arch. West. v. 117.

In all such cases therfore wherof you do knowe somewhat & others may knowe more, your surest way shall be to averr & avowe only that which you knowe to be trewe, without accusinge or suspectinge others for saieing that which they know more than you did. And whether yourself or any others of his Graces famely wer of oppinion that by his Graces tarienge in Rome he might become Pope, & whether yourself or they in that respecte did caste furth any plausible speaches to your uncle tending to perswade his abode there or delaie of fulfilling the Kinges desire, thies pointes beinge better knowne to yourself then me, I will not accuse you resolutely of them; though I knowe some which love you full dearely, of whose mouthes miself have hearde that their owne eares have been witnesses of divers speaches to that sence uttered by yourself & by some more aboute his Grace also in familier conferences amonge yourselves.

The following undated letter from the Duchess Feria (*née* Jane Dormer) is without doubt out of its proper sequence, but as it contains little beyond domestic news it has been inserted here.

Sir F. ENGLEFIELD. Valladolid Letters.

Good Sir Fran^{is} yster night your servant yilym delivered me your letter wryghtten upon the last Wedensday—w^{ch} I thank you hertyly for & for that you sent to all w^{ch} was from mi lord cardnal from hom I have fresher newes than this bringes yet most wellcom to me. I pray you comend me hartly to good ffather Persons who I know likith no bysnes to occupi him God geve him helth that he mai be the better able to trauel in so many matters of importance as he hath of his charge. When he hath any ocasion to wryghte to me I know he will fynd time for it, how occupied so ever he be.

Mi cossen Margett Haringtun hath her lyttel doughter syke wth a falle so great & perelous as her hed hath been openedt & she out of her wyttes al thes dayes w greve. The phisians & sergens sayes it is now out of perel so dere cost childerns. When she is cometo herselfe she shal se that you wryght and ansure to it. She dose not know that her father is ded for that I dyd never tel it her. Nor yet of the token he sent her by Don Bernaldino de Mendosa w^{ch} was never delivered and so havynge no more matter to detene you ani longer I comitt you good Ser Fran^{is} to our Lord Jesus. from Madrid 24 of July

Your lovyng frend

The duches

of FERIA

I heare say ffather

Creswell is no better fried in siuil [Seville] than we be here since the caniculares [dog days] came in.

In dorso

Al senna Ser fran^{is} Yng.

The duches 24 July } in Sir F E^s hand.
rec the 28.

It remains but to tell the unjust means by which Elizabeth secured the vast estates of Sir Francis Englefield and alienated them from the family for ever. Upon leaving England Sir Francis made a settlement of his property in favour of his brother John with remainder to John's heirs.

According to the law, forfeiture for treason did not affect the right of succession to the heir.

In 1562 (June 29th) John, who had married Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Fitton of Gawsorth, had born to him a son, who was baptized at Englefield on July 14, 1562, and named after his uncle, Francis. John Englefield died on April 1, 1567, and was buried at Englefield on April 10 of the same year.

In 1564 Sir Francis Englefield was indicted for treason and outlawed, and the Queen sequestered the revenues of his estates.

The letters written by Sir Francis to the Queen, to Cecil, and to the Privy Council about this period, and the appeals made by the King of Spain on his behalf, show the efforts he made to obtain at least a portion of his income.

The flat refusals he met with, coupled with threats of more extreme measures to follow, no doubt made him desirous of adopting means that would firmly secure to his descendants a right to the property.

Therefore, shortly after the death of his brother John, he conveyed his estates to his nephew Francis absolutely, and without power of revoking, save by the tender of a certain ring.

This cleverly devised arrangement, in which no doubt the celebrated lawyer Plowden, a great friend of the Englefields, had some share, for a time baffled the Queen's advisers, but they eventually contrived a means to alienate the property from the nephew and his heirs. In 1586 Sir Francis was attainted and convicted of treason by Parliament, and his estates declared forfeited to the Crown. (Stat. of Realm and Cecil papers, 141, 154).

It was urged that the settlement effected by Sir Francis of his estates precluded them from forfeiture, and the matter came before the Queen's judges, who, after much deliberation, advised her Majesty to tender to Francis Englefield (the

nephew) a ring, and thereupon take possession of the property.

The ring was tendered to young Englefield; the Queen took possession, and forthwith proceeded to bestow the estates at her will.

The legality of the proceeding was again called in question, and Englefield the younger appealed against the decision. Therefore, to make her position doubly sure, Elizabeth procured the passing of an Act of Parliament confirming the attainder and her title to the Englefield estates.

In brief outline the Act is as follows :

Act of Parl. 35 Eliz. c. 4 & 5.

(Stat. of R. Vol. iv. Pt. 2, pp. 849).

An Act for Confirming the Queen's Title to the Lands of
Sir Francis Englefield.

Whereas Sir Francis Englefield K^t the Queens Majestys natural born subject departed this realm in the first year of her Majestys reign with licence of her Majesty; but after several licences had expired did remain beyond the seas in contempt of the Queens Majesty and the laws and statutes of this realm and the Queens command under the Privy Seal to return.

* * * * *

And where he so being beyond the seas bearing a traiterous *Harte* to her Majesty, and this her realm and knowing his person to be safe from the reach of due punishment, being in the dominion of the King of Spain and the Pope of Rome and having always since his first going over the seas a full purpose to enter into some treasonable action thought the same to provide for the safety of his manors, lands, &c. &c.

* * * * *

It then goes on to recite that Sir Francis had settled his estates on his nephew Francis, son of his brother John, for ever, unless at a future time he (Sir Francis) should present to the nephew a gold ring.

It further states that Sir Francis Englefield was * “the chiefest mover and setter on of the late Spanish invasion.”

* * * * *

the said Francis Englefield the nephew in the term of St Michael 29th & 30th Elizabeth viz the 20th Novr did come in proper person into Her

* For a contradiction of this see *ante*.

Majestys Court of Exchequer & there in open Court exhibited a writing being as he alleged the *effect* of a certain grant, conveyance or assurance made by the said Sir Francis Englefield after the begining of Her Majestys reign of certain manors, lands, heriditaments &c &c He took oath that he had not the writing but that it was made by Sir Francis E— before he was attainted & before the statute of 13th of the Queens Majesty against fugitives beyond the seas. That it was made on the conclusion of a marriage between his (Sir Francis) brother John & Margaret Fyton to Johns heirs male unless Sir Francis had issue male himself in which case the settlement was to have no effect That the said Francis omitted the condition of the tender by which it could be otherwise voided

* * * * *

Therefore the Queen directed her high Commissioners under the great seal viz Richard Broughton & Henry Bourghchier Esquires to deliver for Her Majesty a ring of gold to Francis Englefield the nephew, to frustrate the limitation &c &c made by Sir Francis E.

* * * * *

They made the tender and the fact is duly enrolled in the Court of Exchequer &c &c This act hereby confirms all attainders against Sir Francis Englefield the Queen is hereby entitled to take possession &c &c

Sir Francis Englefield died at Valladolid, in November, 1596, and he is buried in the church of the English College in that city.

That Sir Francis, by the accident of his position, was in correspondence and communication with those who were deemed enemies to Queen Elizabeth is a fact, but I think his letters clearly prove that although he may have had knowledge, he had little connection, if any, with the numerous plots of the period, and his character may well be summed up in the words of Dodd, who, in his "Church History," vol. i. p. 529, fol. ed., says of him :

His inclination to do good to all his countrymen, and the interest he had at the court of Spain, made the loss inexpressible when his death happened, which was at Valladolid, where he was soliciting charity for those in distress.

ALFRED ALLEN HARRISON.

ART. IV.—PAPAL ELECTIONS AND CORONATIONS.

Le Conclave, Origines, Histoire, Organisation, Législation Ancienne et Moderne, avec un Appendice contenant le texte des Bulles Secrètes de Pie IX. Par LUCIUS LECTOR. Paris: Lethielleux. 1894. Pp. xi., 784.

THE whole subject of the election of bishops is an extremely instructive one, and the customs which have prevailed at different times have more than an antiquarian interest. The Church requires that the transmission of the episcopal authority should be effected in a manner fixed by itself; but the mode is a matter of discipline and, in many of its details, has been changed from time to time. In this respect the election of a pope does not differ from that of other bishops; and it is important not to lose sight of the facts that the election of a pope is the election of a bishop of the diocese of Rome, and that the election is still made by those who are either bishops of the Roman province, or, technically at least, dignitaries of the local Roman Church.

The first three successors of St. Peter are believed to have been named by the apostle himself; and some canonists have maintained that any pope may nominate his successor.* Nothing very exact is known of the procedure during the ages of persecution; but towards their close, if not earlier, the election of a pope seems to have been a prerogative of the bishops of the neighbouring sees, the clergy and laity of Rome taking part in it as witnesses to the fitness of the candidate. At a council held in Rome in 499, the laity were deprived of all part in the election, which it was decreed should be made by the clergy, a simple majority of their votes being sufficient. A few years later another condition was exacted by the Emperor Justinian, who required that the result of the election should be submitted to the imperial

* See "Traité de Droit Canonique," par Mgr. Tilloy. Vol. i., pp. 202, 203. Paris: 1895.

approval; that the new pope should not be consecrated till this had been given; and that a sum equal to about £12,000 of our money should be paid for such approval. This imperial approbation was not however always sought, and the last pope who submitted his election to the Byzantine court was Gregory III. in 731. But a similar claim was put forward later on by the German emperors.

To fully understand this latter claim we must have a clear idea of the relation which existed between the pope and the emperor. In the middle ages it was customary for churches and monasteries to select some sovereign or great noble as their protector, *advocatus*, *avoué*; who, in return for certain privileges, undertook to defend the chapter or monastery against all aggressors. Such, for example, was the relation which existed between the dukes of Lorraine and the abbey of Remiremont. In the same way St. Leo III. chose Charles the Great to be the protector of the Roman see. Charles was already king of France by right of election, and king of Italy by conquest, when he received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope in St. Peter's. His coronation did not carry with it any extension of political right; it merely gave him an honorary precedence amongst Christian princes, whilst it imposed the duty of defending the head of the Christian Church.* It cannot be a matter for surprise that a connection of this personal character should have led the imperial protector to concern himself with the election of him whom he was bound to defend, just as the protectors of monasteries often intermeddled with the concerns of those monasteries, not infrequently with disastrous results to themselves. Charles the Great himself abstained from all interference, as did his successor Lewis the Pious. But Lothair, the third of the Carolingian emperors, whilst acknowledging that the election concerned the Romans only, claimed the right to exercise a certain diplomatic control. This was the thin end of the wedge. This diplomatic control was not sufficient for succeed-

* "Lucius Lector" calls attention to a mosaic erected in the Lateran palace by St. Leo III. It is in two parts. On one side, *Christ* gives the keys to St. Peter and the standard of political sovereignty to Constantine, showing the divine origin of the two powers, each sovereign in its own sphere; on the other, *St. Peter* confers his pallium on his successor Leo, and confides the banner of the new protectorate to Charles.

ing emperors, whose interference led to such strife and confusion that, by the middle of the eleventh century, when Bruno of Alsace, bishop of Toul, was elected pope, the position had become intolerable.

Bruno, afterwards known as St. Leo IX., was proposed to the delegates of the Roman clergy by the Emperor Henry III. at Worms, and was accepted by them; but he would not consider the election final till it had been ratified, in Rome, by the Roman clergy. Himself a Benedictine, as he passed through Burgundy on his way to Rome, he stayed at the great Benedictine abbey of Cluny and there made the acquaintance of a young Italian monk with whom he was so charmed that he attached him to his suite and took him to Rome. This was Hildebrand, who, as archdeacon of Rome—the last, by the way, who held that office—was to be the instrument of the much desired reform of the procedure of papal elections.

The great aim of these two monks, pope and archdeacon, was to confine the election of the Roman pontiff to the dignitaries of the Roman clergy, the cardinals of the Roman Church. But this was not to be accomplished by St. Leo IX., nor by his successors Victor II. and Stephen IX.; it was reserved for the Burgundian pope, Nicholas II., who was elected at Siena in 1059, seven years before the Norman conquest of England. In the first year of his pontificate Nicholas promulgated a bull regulating future elections. He once more gave the right of electing the pope to the neighbouring bishops and again associated the people, in some degree, with the election; decreeing that whilst the electors were to be the bishops of the suburbican sees, the other cardinals were to give their adhesion and the people their consent to the choice made by them; unless for any reason the election could not be held in Rome, in which case the bishops were only required to associate with themselves a small number of the clergy and laity. He did not interfere with the imperial right of confirmation, but rendered nugatory any attempt at interference on the part of the emperor (whose dignity he reminded the world was personal and the gift of the Holy See), by the provision that if by any circumstances whatsoever the enthronisation should be prevented or delayed still the full pontifical authority might be exercised. In 1073 Hildebrand was him-

self elected pope and took the name of Gregory VII. He notified his accession to the emperor, who first of all approved it, and then withdrew his approval to enter on that long struggle which led him to Canossa. The work of Nicholas II. and St. Gregory VII. was completed by the Cistercian pope Alexander III. at the third council of Lateran in 1180. He admitted all the cardinals to the election, and made it necessary that there should be a majority of two thirds of those present—a rule which has been maintained to the present day. No mention was made in the decrees of any approval of the inferior clergy or people, or of the imperial confirmation. So from that time forward the election has been the work of the cardinals only ; and, subject to what is known as the right of veto on the part of three of the catholic powers, their choice has been free.

The veto, just mentioned, consists in a public notification to the Sacred College, by one of its members acting on behalf of the vetoing power, that some cardinal, whose election seems to be probable, is obnoxious to his government. This acts as a prohibition to that cardinal's election. The power of vetoing, the right to which has never been formally acknowledged, and so rests solely on custom, may be exercised by France, Austria, and Spain—by each power once, and once only, in the same conclave. It has been claimed by, but never allowed to, Portugal, and some wild writers have maintained that any government may exercise it of right. The author of *Le Conclave* writes of it as follows :

The writers of the traditional Roman school refuse to recognise that any government has a right, properly so-called, to exercise a veto. But they admit that it is a practice which was introduced reasonably and has been exercised lawfully. If they contest the right they do not reject what they call a *pacifica avvertenza* of a sovereign who is friendly to the Church, a remonstrance made with the object of maintaining peace and a good understanding between the Holy See and the great catholic states. It is understood that in principle the cardinal-electors remain judges of the value of the remonstrance, and that they remain free to yield to it or to ignore it ; but it is recognised that in practice they may be bound in prudence and in conscience to pay attention to it. They have to elect the one who is most worthy and most suitable to govern the Church, but however worthy, if he is the cause of animosity, if he is unfavourably regarded by one or more of the catholic powers, he will be

less suitable to take the helm of the Church. In short, though the cardinals are not bound in justice they may be bound in prudence to pay regard to a veto. And prudence is a cardinal virtue held in high esteem in Rome.

The veto has been exercised on two occasions within the present century—once in 1823, when Cardinal Severoli, who was a *persona ingrata* to Metternich, was vetoed by Austria ; * and again in 1831 when Cardinal Giustiniani was vetoed by Spain. It would have been exercised again in 1846 by Austria, who wished to exclude Cardinal Mastai; but the envoy only reached Rome in time to find the object of his veto ruling the Church as Pius IX.

Though a powerful weapon, the veto does not always produce the effect desired by those who make use of it. In fact, its ordinary result is to place the election in the hands of the rejected cardinal. This happened on both of the occasions in which the veto has been exercised in the present century. In 1823, after Cardinal Albani had pronounced, on behalf of Austria, the veto against Cardinal Severoli, the supporters of the rejected *papabile* asked him to name the cardinal to whom they should give their votes. He named the Cardinal della Genga who, Austria being unable to exercise the veto again, was duly elected. So in 1831 supporters of Cardinal Giustiniani, who had been vetoed by Spain, by his advice transferred their votes to the Camaldolese monk, Cardinal Capellari, and secured his election. The knowledge of this danger naturally makes these three powers more disposed to confine themselves to those means of influencing the conclave which they share with the others.

Subject to this power of veto, which at most can only be exercised thrice in each conclave, the election of a pope is the

* Cardinal Albani was the ambassador extraordinary of his apostolic majesty to the Sacred College. According to Halleck, quoting from Bianchi, "Storia della Dipl. Europ. in Ital.," the form made use of was as follows: "In my capacity of ambassador extraordinary to the Sacred College, assembled in conclave, which capacity has been signified to and known by your eminences as much by means of the letter which has been addressed to you by his imperial majesty, as by the notification which to your eminences has been made by his imperial ambassador, and by virtue of the instructions which have been given to me, I fulfil the displeasing duty of declaring that the imperial court of Vienna cannot accept for supreme pontiff his eminence Cardinal Severoli. and gives to him a formal exclusion (*-sclusiva*)" ("Int. Law," vol. i., p. 104).

work of the cardinals alone, and of them a word must now be said. The college of cardinals represents the ancient *presbyterium*, or council, by which the bishop of Rome, as every other bishop, was assisted. The priests and deacons who formed this council were originally attached to one church, but eventually the priests were placed at the head of the various parish churches, and the deacons charged with the administration of hospitals and their dependent oratories. These priests and deacons were known as cardinal-priests and cardinal-deacons respectively. In the ninth century the seven suburbican bishops were associated with these cardinals in the administration of the Roman see, and were styled cardinal-bishops.* They not only took their part in administrative matters, but also in the public worship of the Lateran basilica, the cathedral of Rome, each bishop in turn being required to sing the Sunday mass therein; just as the cardinal-priests took their turn in singing the mass in the four patriarchal basilicas of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Mary Major, and St. Laurence. The title cardinal was not exclusively reserved for the dignitaries of the Roman church till the time of Pius IV.; formerly it was frequently bestowed on the canons, or some of the canons, of certain great churches, such as the cathedrals of Milan, Ravenna, Besançon, Compostella, and Cologne.

As at present constituted the Sacred College consists of the cardinal-bishops of the suburbican sees, whose number has been reduced to six, of fifty cardinal-priests, and of fourteen cardinal-deacons; making in all seventy. The title of cardinal-priest or cardinal-deacon does not imply that the bearer of it is only a priest or a deacon. On the contrary, most of the cardinal priests are bishops, and the majority of the cardinal-deacons are priests. Nor, on the other hand, does it necessarily imply that they are in sacred orders, though now every cardinal must, unless specially dispensed, receive at least deacon's orders within a year of his creation; but till comparatively recent times there was no such obligation, and a cardinal might remain all his life a simple tonsured clerk, or even resign the purple to enter on some unecclesiastical occupation and maybe marry. The members of the

* Tilloy, *op. cit.*, i., pp. 300, 301.

Sacred College rank immediately after the pope and before all bishops, even patriarchs.* They enjoy all the privileges enjoyed by bishops, other than those who depend on ordination or consecration. An attempt on their life is considered in canon law as high treason ; whilst to convict a cardinal of a crime in an ecclesiastical court, seventy-two witnesses are required if he belong to the order of bishops, sixty-four if he be a cardinal-priest, and twenty-seven if he be a deacon. The head of the college is the bishop of Ostia, who was formerly known as its prior, but is now styled the dean ; he has the right of consecrating the new pope if need be, and, like a few other bishops, enjoys the privilege of wearing the pallium. The cardinal-bishop next in seniority is the sub-dean. The other officials are the camerlengo, who acts as bursar, and who is appointed for a year, each cardinal taking the office in turn ; the secretary ; the clerk who represents the secretary when the latter is absent ; and the computist. The cardinals form the council of the pope, and during an interregnum have considerable powers of administration, but of administration only. During the interregnum, to make the government easier an executive council is formed, consisting of the camerlengo of the Holy Roman Church, who is a different official from the camerlengo of the Sacred College just mentioned,† and the three “ chiefs of orders.” From the death of the pope till the third day of the conclave inclusive the chiefs are the dean, the first cardinal-priest, and the first cardinal-deacon ; for the next three days the next in rank of each order ; and so on to the end.

Immediately after the death of a pope all the cardinals residing out of Rome are advised of the fact and summoned to take part in the election of his successor. Gregory X. ordered that the election should be proceeded with on the tenth day after the death, and this has been the rule for the last six hundred years. But, in view of the present position of the Holy See, Pius IX. authorized the Sacred College to

* Not only cardinals but the princes-assistant at the throne and the grand master of the order of Malta rank before patriarchs ; and till some thirty years ago prothonotaries ranked before bishops.

† The camerlengo of the Holy Roman Church is named for life. He presides over the court known as the Apostolic Chamber, and it is his duty to verify the death of the pope.

proceed with the election without waiting for the lapse of the *novemdiarii*, so soon as an absolute majority of its members should be assembled in Rome, though he still required that there should be a two-thirds majority of those present. He authorized the cardinals to hold the election out of Rome if it seemed good to them, and ordered that if it were held in Rome it should be suspended at the slightest show of interference on the part of the Italian Government. He also empowered the Sacred College, if it should seem good to them, to dispense with the laws of enclosure, of which more will be said directly. These decrees were to hold good for the election which should follow his death, and for the succeeding one unless his successor should otherwise order. As the present pontiff took a leading part, as camerlengo, in drawing them up it may fairly be presumed that they will hold good for the next conclave.

Mention has just been made of the enclosure which gives to a papal election its name of conclave, and which has been the rule since the end of the thirteenth century. On the death of Clement IV., the cardinals met at Viterbo to elect his successor. For two years and a half the proceedings dragged on, and still no pope was elected; it was even rumoured that the cardinals intended to disperse without making an election. The people of Viterbo took the matter into their own hands and imprisoned the cardinals in the bishop's palace, committing them to the custody of the Savelli family; whose descendant, Prince Chigi, still has the privilege, as marshal of the conclave, of taking charge of the cardinals during a papal election. But imprisonment did not produce the required effect, so the good Viterbesi proceeded to remove the roof from the palace and to deprive their eminences of all food but bread and water. Thereupon the cardinals deputed a small number of their body to make the choice, pledging themselves to abide by the result, and in this way this protracted election was brought to a close. Gregory X., the new pope, to prevent similar scandals from occurring in the future, made a number of stringent regulations, and among the rest one which prescribed that during the whole time of the election the cardinals should be strictly enclosed.

The conclaves have for the most part been in the Vatican.

During the present century, however, four have been held in the Quirinal. In 1878 the former was of necessity again the scene of the election ; and in what follows it will be assumed that the conclave is in the Vatican.

During the nine days which follow the death of the pope the Vatican is prepared for the conclave, a sufficient number of apartments being prepared for the cardinals, their attendants, the officials, and the necessary domestics and artisans. The whole is so arranged that there can be no exit except by one door, which is fastened by four locks ; two on the inside, whose keys are kept by the camerlengo, and two on the outside, whose keys are in the custody of the marshal. Food and correspondence enter by four turns, similar to those in convents, which are guarded by various dignitaries ; one by bishops, one by prothonotaries, one by prelates of the Apostolic Chamber, and the fourth by prelates of the Segnatura, another papal tribunal. All correspondence which passes the turn either from within or without must be read by the guardians, unless the cardinal concerned should prefer its passing through the hands of the secretary of the conclave, who has a private turn for official correspondence, in which case it is read by the chiefs of orders—by whom, and in any case, correspondence may be submitted to the whole college. Books and newspapers are allowed to enter. And a cardinal may communicate verbally with his servant at a turn, but only in presence of its guardians. The number of persons enclosed is considerable ; in 1878 it amounted to nearly two hundred and fifty. There were the cardinal's, each one attended by a chaplain and a domestic ; the sacristan, with his five assistants ; the secretary of the conclave and his two assistants ; the prefect and five masters of ceremonies ; two doctors and a dispenser ; barbers ; masons, carpenters, and plumbers ; cooks, scullions, and other domestics. The camerlengo and the chiefs of orders are responsible for the order of the community, whilst its spiritual needs are looked to by the sub-sacristan.

Every cardinal in Rome, who has a vote, is bound to take part in the election ; and every cardinal in deacon's orders has a vote, even if he be excommunicated or under an interdict. Cardinals who have been proclaimed, but have not received the hat, may vote, but not so those who have been reserved *in*

petto. A cardinal may be deprived of his right to vote, and this has occasionally been done, as when Pius VI. deprived the Cardinal de Rohan of his vote on account of his complicity in the affair of the diamond necklace. It may happen that a cardinal has not received deacon's orders. If this should be the case he still has the right to enter the conclave; but, unless he has received a personal indult authorizing him to do so, he may take no part in the proceedings; though it is always open to him to be ordained in the conclave itself by the cardinal-vicar.* Should a cardinal arrive in Rome after the entry into the conclave he has the right to be admitted and to take part in the proceedings. He signifies his wish to that effect, and a suitable time is arranged for his reception, at which the camerlengo and marshal open the door and the new-comer is received by all his colleagues, and at once taken to the chapel to have the ordinary oath administered to him. But should a cardinal, for any reason, leave the conclave, even on account of illness, he cannot be re-admitted. It is now time to pass on to the election itself.

On the day fixed for entering the conclave mass of the Holy Ghost is sung in St. Peter's by the cardinal-dean, and then a sermon is preached by some high prelate, who exhorts the cardinals to elect him who they think most apt for the government of the church, putting on one side all private likes and dislikes. Later in the day the cardinals enter the conclave in solemn procession. The *Veni Creator* is sung, and then, after the prescribed prayers have been said, the apostolic constitutions are read, and the oath is administered to the cardinals, the major domo, and the marshal of the conclave, each swearing individually that he will observe them. Their eminences then go to their cells, which are numbered and drawn by lot, and the oath that they will reveal nothing nor intermeddle in the election is administered to all the other conclavists, clerical and lay. When this is over all who have no part in the election are turned out and the door locked by the camerlengo and the

* The cardinal-vicar represents the pope in the government of the diocese of Rome. He convokes synods, approves confessors, examines candidates for ordination, and has the sole right of ordaining such candidates even when they are orientals. No other bishop may confer orders in Rome without his consent.

marshal, who is charged with the maintenance of order on the outside. A tour of inspection is then made by the camerlengo and three cardinals appointed for that duty to see that everything has been done in accordance with law.

In 1878, on account of the Italian occupation of Rome, the opening mass was sung in the Pauline chapel instead of in St. Peter's; and the customary procession was dispensed with, the cardinals quietly entering the conclave and taking possession of their cells in the course of the afternoon.

During the continuance of the conclave the official day is ordered somewhat as follows. It begins with the community mass. On the first day this is said by the dean and all the cardinals communicate at it, on the other days it is said by the sacristan, an Augustinian bishop, but the cardinals need not communicate, being allowed to say mass in their cells. After the mass they go to the hall of election for the morning scrutiny. This is followed by dinner, which is served separately to each cardinal and his chaplain in his cell; siesta; exercise in the corridors and visits. The afternoon scrutiny begins, according to the season, at three or at four o'clock. When it is over the executive council, the camerlengo and chiefs of orders that is, discuss current business with the secretary, and, if occasion for doing so should arise, summon a meeting of the cardinals. After supper three strokes of a bell and the warning *In cellam domini* give notice to retire, though there is no prohibition against making visits to other cells. The hall of election is the Sistine chapel. Over each cardinal's stall is a movable canopy, symbolic of his temporary joint-sovereignty, and before it a table; whilst in the middle of the choir are some other tables furnished with writing materials for the use of such cardinals as may be afraid of being overlooked by their neighbours whilst they are preparing their papers. In front of the altar, on which are the cross and six lighted candles, is a table for the scrutineers. Each cardinal, as he goes to the chapel for a scrutiny, is accompanied by his chaplain, bearing his writing materials, but so soon as the sacristan has said the accustomed prayers all save the eminent electors are ordered out by the prefect of ceremonies.

The first business each day is to draw by lot the names of three cardinals to act as scrutineers, and of three others to act

as infirmarians, that is to take the votes of such cardinals as may be confined to their cells by sickness. It will be convenient to describe at once how this is done. So soon as the infirmarians have themselves voted, they take a box which has been prepared for the votes of sick cardinals, open it before all present to show that it is empty, lock it, and place the key on the altar. They then proceed to the cell, administer the ordinary oath to the cardinal and receive his voting paper, which he himself places in the box through a narrow slip in the top. If he should be too unwell to write he may select anyone he likes to fill in the paper for him, but before doing so the person so chosen must take an oath of secrecy before the infirmarians. On their return to the hall the three cardinals give the box to the scrutators, who open it, count the papers, and then place them one by one in the chalice with those of the other cardinals.

When the scrutators and infirmarians have been appointed the cardinals proceed to the election. They are absolutely unfettered in their choice—anyone may be chosen, ecclesiastic or layman. But no one outside the Sacred College has been elected for five hundred years, though so recently as the middle of the last century votes were given for one who was not a cardinal: this was in 1740, when some wished to elect Father Barberini, an ex-general of the capuchins. There are three modes of election. The first is that of *inspiration, acclamation, or adoration*. The cardinals leave their stalls and do homage to one of their body, who, if he be willing, thus becomes pope without more ado. The essence of this form of election is its unanimity; all must be agreed. There has been no instance of it for nearly three hundred years. The second mode is by *compromise*, which means that a certain number of cardinals are deputed to elect in the name of all, the rest pledging themselves to abide by their choice. This has proved useful in bringing a protracted election to an end. The third and usual mode is by *scrutiny* or ballot. This is subject to the following rules:—(1) Every cardinal present in the conclave must vote under pain of excommunication; (2) No one may vote for himself; (3) For an election to be made there must be a majority of two-thirds of the voters; and (4) The voting must be secret and by means of voting-papers of a

special form. These papers are divided into three compartments:—In the lowest the elector writes a motto and a number; in the uppermost his own name; and in the middle the name of him for whom he votes. The writing may be disguised. The upper and lower compartments are each folded and sealed with a fancy seal so that the scrutineers only see the middle section. The outsides of the upper and lower sections are covered with fancy printing to make it doubly sure that the writing inside shall not be visible, whilst to provide against mistakes being made when one of the seals may have to be broken they also bear the words *Nomen* and *Signa* respectively. The paper is again folded so as to hide the name written in the middle. Any deviation from the prescribed mode of folding and sealing invalidates the vote; but mistakes, incredible as it may seem, do frequently occur.*

So soon as the preliminaries are at an end the voting begins. The first to record his vote is the dean; then follow the infirmarians to free them for their duty; then the others in order of seniority. Each in turn goes to the altar and kneels for a short space. Then rising he holds his voting-paper over the chalice which is on the altar, and in a loud voice takes an oath that he is voting for him whom he believes to be the most suitable candidate, and that if there should be a second ballot he will do the same; after this he places the paper on the paten, from which he makes it glide into the chalice. If any one present is unable to vote, the third scrutineer goes to his stall, and, after the cardinal in question has taken the oath, receives the paper and carries it to the altar in such a way that every one can see it. When all in the chapel have voted, and the infirmarians have brought the voting-papers of the sick, the counting is proceeded with. The first scrutineer shakes the chalice and mixes the papers, and then the third counts them, placing them as he does so one by one in a second chalice. If the number of papers does not correspond with

* In the first scrutiny of the last conclave several papers were annulled because they were wrongly sealed; in the second, one was invalid because the name was unintelligible; and in the third, another because it bore the words "Eligo in summum Pontificem R.D. Cardinalem Neminem"—*Cardinal Nobody!* Mistakes such as these incline one to judge less severely the absurd blunders made by uneducated voters in English parliamentary and municipal elections!

the number of electors present, the papers are immediately burnt* and a fresh vote taken. But if the numbers tally the scrutineers leave the altar, at which they had been sitting, and go to the table in front of it, the senior bearing the chalice which contains the voting-papers. At the table the first scrutineer takes a paper from the chalice, reads the name on it, and passes it to the second, who in turn, after reading the name, passes it to the third. He proclaims the name, and the other cardinals note the vote on a list of the Sacred College with which each has been provided. When all the papers have been dealt with in this way, the names of those who have received votes are read out with the number obtained by each, and then the voting-papers are pierced and tied together by a string passing through the hole thus made. If no one has the requisite majority of two-thirds, a second vote, that of *accession*, is taken, to enable such cardinals as may wish to do so to transfer their vote to some one else. This is done to give an opportunity of settling an election at once, as if it appears from the scrutiny that some one has received a considerable number of votes, some of the electors who did not vote for him at first may be disposed to *accede* to him. In this second ballot no one may vote for the same candidate as he did in the first, else he would be enjoying two votes; and no vote can be given for any one who did not receive at least one in the scrutiny. But every one must hand in a voting-paper, which must bear the same motto and number and be sealed with the same seal as in the scrutiny. Should a cardinal not wish to change his vote, the elector says that he accedes *Cardinali Nemini*—to Cardinal Nobody. If the accessions seem to give some one a majority, the voting-papers are carefully recounted, and if the second count tallies with the first, the seals of the accession papers which help to make up the majority are examined. The lower sections of these, and the scrutiny papers bearing the same seals, are opened, so that the mottoes and numbers may be compared. If there should still be any grounds

* There is a stove in the chapel for the purpose of burning the voting papers. All papers are burnt immediately after a scrutiny, and if no election has been made some damp straw is mixed with them to announce the fact to the outer world. The approximate times being known the *sfumate* is eagerly looked for by the people of Rome.

for doubt, the upper seals are broken and the names of the acceding cardinals read. In one other case only is this done, when some one gets exactly a two-thirds majority, and then the names of all the majority are read to make it quite certain that the elected has not voted for himself. Should either the original scrutiny or the accession procure the required majority, the junior cardinal-deacon draws by lot the names of three of his order to act as revisors, and verify the counting; and so soon as this has been done the voting-papers are burnt.

Directly the revisors announce that the majority has been obtained, the junior cardinal-deacon summons the secretary of the conclave and the master of ceremonies. Accompanied by these two officials and by the chiefs of the orders of priests and deacons, the dean goes to the cardinal who has been elected and asks him whether he will accept the dignity. If he signifies his consent the other cardinals lower the canopies over their stalls, their joint jurisdiction being now at an end, and the two next to him withdraw, so leaving a vacant stall on either side of the new pope. The dean asks what name he will assume, in accordance with a practice nearly a thousand years old, and then announces it to the Sacred College. The final step is for the prefect of ceremonies, who is a prothonotary-apostolic, to draw up the official account of the election, of which election certainly not the least striking features are the precautions taken against foul play, which are at once a forcible reminder that after all the most exalted of dignitaries are but men, and a sure preventative of the election being called into question at a later date.

Whilst the prothonotary is drawing up his document, the two senior cardinal-deacons lead the pope to the altar, and thence, after praying awhile, to a vestry, where three white cassocks, in different sizes, with the rest of the papal dress, are ready prepared. Here he puts on the white cassock, white stockings, and white skull-cap, with the red mozzetta stole and shoes which constitute the ordinary papal dress, unless it should happen to be the octave of Easter, when his mozzetta would be of white damask. He then returns to the altar. There sitting he receives the obedience, or adoration,* of the cardinals

* Some Protestant writers have argued from this term that divine honours

whilst the *Te Deum* is sung, and then names his camerlengo and sometimes his chief officials. After this the election is announced to the world by the senior cardinal-deacon, who, preceded by the papal cross, goes to the balcony of St. Peter's and there proclaims the name of the new pope to the people collected in the great piazza; and this announcement should be followed by a salute from the Castel St. Angelo.

The first public act of the new pope is to give the blessing *urbi et orbi* from the loggia of St. Peter's, looking over the piazza. This is followed by the second adoration of the cardinals in the Sistine chapel, for which ceremony the pope, wearing the episcopal vestments, with his mitre on his head, sits on the altar. On the same day, or on the morrow, the third adoration is made in St. Peter's, where the pope sits on the high altar over the confession. In 1878 changes were made in this ceremonial. The pontifical blessing was given by the pope looking into the basilica, instead of the piazza, and the third adoration of the cardinals was made in the Sistine chapel, in which also took place the ceremony of the coronation, which will shortly be described.

From the moment of his acceptance the pope has a plenitude of jurisdiction; but it may happen that he is not a bishop. It is not necessary for him to have received any orders; and in the course of history there have been a few instances of the election of a clerk in minor orders, and a few of the election of a sub-deacon. In early times it was generally a deacon; the election of a priest was rarer; and there is no instance of the election of a bishop before the end of the ninth century. In recent times Pius III. and Leo X., in the sixteenth century, were deacons; whilst Clement VIII., in the sixteenth, Clement XI., in the seventeenth, Clement XIV. and Pius VI. in the eighteenth, and Gregory XVI., in the present century, were priests only. In such a case the newly-elected pope must be ordained, or consecrated, or both. Formerly, if a deacon, it has been said that he was not always ordained priest, but was forthwith consecrated bishop; but this is no longer the case.

are paid to the pope. It is hardly necessary to point out that even in English "adore" can be used in other senses than that of divine worship; whilst as to the charge itself it is much the same as if a foreign writer should accuse every Anglican married man of paying divine honours to his wife because at his marriage he said, "With my body I thee worship."

A pope may receive all his orders in one day. Should he only be in minor orders for the subdiaconate, he would be seated on his throne in the episcopal vestments and wearing the mitre when he received the sacred vessels, the book of the Epistles, and the maniple from the officiating prelate. And should he only receive the subdiaconate on that day, he would still give the solemn blessing at the end of mass, after which the ordainer, kneeling, would wish him life *ad multos annos*. The same takes place after he is ordained deacon or priest. To receive the imposition of hands for the diaconate he is similarly seated on his throne, the celebrant alone, of all the bishops and cardinals present, wearing his mitre. So when he is ordained priest he sits for the unction, communicates at the side of the celebrant, and gives the kiss of peace to the celebrant, the other cardinals, and any bishops who may be present. When a pope has to be consecrated the officiating prelate is the cardinal-dean, the privilege having belonged to the see of Ostia from very early times. The rite differs remarkably from that for the consecration of any other bishop, in that the ceremony is completed before the beginning of the mass which is sung by the newly-consecrated pope; to whom too is made the offering of bread and wine, which is usually made to the consecrator.

It may or may not be necessary to consecrate him, but every pope must be crowned. Till this has been done he expedites no bull, except under circumstances of the utmost urgency, and even then the leaden seal would not bear his name. The coronation originally took place on the same day as the consecration, and may still do so when consecration is necessary, in which case the various ceremonies are scattered through the pontifical mass which follows the consecration. But generally speaking the coronation is a separate ceremony.

At the time appointed for it, the pope, surrounded by his court, is carried into the portico of St. Peter's, where, as he sits before the walled-up *porta santa*, the archpriest presents to him the clergy of the basilica, who make their obedience. He is then carried to the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, and thence to his throne in the chapel of St. Gregory, where he receives the obedience of the cardinals, patriarchs, bishops, and other prelates. When this is over he intones tierce, and whilst

it is being sung, vests for the high mass which is to follow, in the ordinary pontifical vestments, with fanon, falda, and saccone, but without the pallium. Then, seated on the *sedia gestatoria*, preceded by the papal cross, but without a crosier, which a pope never uses except, perchance, when he may be in the diocese of Treves, he sets out for the high altar. Twice the procession is interrupted, once on reaching the nave, and once at the statue of St. Peter. Each time a master of ceremonies lights some tow, and as it burns, kneeling, he sings in a grave tone, *Pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi*, "Holy Father, so passes the glory of the world." This is done a third time when the altar is reached, and then the pope makes the ordinary preparation for mass, saying the psalm *Jubila*, and the confession. The *sedia* meantime has been placed in the middle of the choir, and before incensing the altar his holiness returns to it for the purpose of receiving the pallium. After the prescribed prayers have been said by the dean the sub-dean and the third in rank of the cardinal-bishops, the pallium is placed on the pope's shoulders by the senior cardinal deacon,* and fastened to the chasuble by the next in rank. The pope then returns to the altar with his ministers and incenses it as usual. When this is finished he goes to the throne to receive the obedience of the cardinals, after which the senior cardinal-deacon, staff in hand, goes down into the confession and there intones a short litany, the responses being made by the choir. The mass then proceeds in the ordinary way to the end, with all the ceremonies peculiar to one sung by the pope. When it is over, the pope puts on his mitre of cloth of gold, and is borne to a throne prepared in the loggia.

The choir sings the anthem, *Corona aurea super caput ejus*, and when this is finished the cardinal-deacon sings a pater and a collect. The second cardinal-deacon then removes the mitre, and the senior cardinal-deacon puts the tiara on the pope's head.† Some more prayers are then said, and the ceremony is brought to a close by the solemn papal blessing.

* As he puts it on he says: "Accipe pallium sanctum plenitudinem pontificalis officii, ad honorem omnipotentis Dei et gloriosissimæ Virginis Mariæ ejus matris, beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ."

† He says at the same time: "Accipe tiarem, tribus coronis ornatam, et

Two things more remain to be done by the new pope. He has to swear that he will observe the apostolic constitutions, which he does in a consistory held shortly after his coronation; and he has to take possession of his cathedral. The latter had to be dispensed with in 1878, but when it could be done the pope was accustomed to go in state to the basilica of St. John Lateran. There, before entering the church, he put on the pontifical vestments, sitting on a throne erected for the occasion near the door. Next the archpriest presented the keys of the basilica, one of gold and one of silver, in a basin filled with flowers. This was followed by the obedience of the cathedral clergy, after which the pope was borne to the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament as the choir sang *Te Deum*, and thence to the confession as the choir sang the anthem *Petrus Apostolus*. At the confession he venerated the relics of SS. Peter and Paul, whose heads are preserved there, and was then carried to the throne at the end of the apse. There he received the obedience of the cardinals and gave to each one as he made it two medals, one of gold and one of silver. The senior cardinal priest then intoned the same litanies as were sung at the coronation mass, and when they were ended the pope placed on the altar a purse containing a sum of money for the basilica. From the altar he was carried to the loggia, where he brought the ceremony to a close by the solemn blessing *urbi et orbi*.

A word in conclusion concerning the book from which most of the information contained in the present article has been drawn. The author conceals his identity under a pseudonym but is said to be a prelate who has held high office in Rome; he certainly has had access to sources of information beyond the reach of the general public. The book itself is a testimony to his industry in the collection of facts, and a mine of information for all who may be interested in the history of the law of papal elections, whilst those who like what may be called the gossip of conclaves will find sufficient to gratify their curiosity. The author has perhaps been too ready to introduce matter which, interesting as it is in itself, has no immediate

bearing on the election, such, for example, as the lengthy account, extending over three or four chapters, of the obsequies of the pope and the government of the church during the interregnum. But the most serious faults in *Le Conclave* are the want of proper arrangement, a considerable obstacle to the practical utility of a book of this kind, and the absence of an index, which is simply unpardonable. The latter of these can be simply remedied in a future edition; when too, it is to be hoped that a more careful reading of the proofs will render unnecessary so terribly long a list of *corrigenda*. But to remedy the former it would be necessary to recast the book, the doing of which, though troublesome, would considerably add to its present value, which is saying much.

EGERTON BECK.

ART. V.—THE CARDINAL OF YORK.

AMONGST all the storied stones of Rome, sacred and imperial, the Palazzo Muti—now Balestra, previously Savorelli—counts for little with either Catholic pilgrim or common tourist. It stands by the Piazza of the Holy Apostles, Saints Philip and James, whose bodies are enshrined in the adjoining church, on the site of the headquarters of the ancient Roman Vigiles, or firemen, and near the modern American College. It is famous neither for architectural beauty nor wealth of stored treasures, yet it is full of deep historical interest to Britons; even of memories that may well be counted sacred by Catholics. It was for more than seventy years the home of the last princes of the royal house of Stuart, discrowned and banished for their faith from the inheritance of their fathers. Over its doors the crowned arms of Great Britain, France, and Ireland were blazoned. A royal guard was mounted before them. Within its gloomy walls dwelt the English-born prince, only surviving son of James II., known to the faithful of his kingdoms as King James III. and VIII.; also to the Papal and all the Catholic courts of Europe, and now and then to some Protestant courts, when such acknowledgment of his birthright happened to serve their private and temporary interests.

In 1719, in his thirty-first year, and three years after his second Scottish expedition, he married the Princess Maria Clementina Sobieska, granddaughter of John Sobieski, King of Poland. She brought to the exiled king twenty-five millions of dowry and some famous jewels. Their elder son, Charles Edward Lewis Casimir, Prince of Wales, was born on December 31, 1720: their younger son, Henry Benedict Mary Clement, Duke of York, on March 6, 1725. Pope Benedict XIV. himself baptised the little Duke of York immediately after his birth.

Intrigue and dissension raged round the very cradle of the last Stuart prince. James was harassed on all sides by counsellors, all fiercely scrambling for influence over himself and his sons; all fiercely jealous of each other—Catholic of Protestant,

Scottish of English and Irish. As Bolingbroke wrote of his court to Wyndham a few years earlier : "There were a multitude of people at work, every one doing what was right in his own eyes ; no subordination, no order, no concert." The religious questions, which had cost the family crown and country, now divided counsels and embittered the closest domestic relations. The Queen died in 1735, and the little princes grew up, knocked about from Catholic pillar to Protestant post. The younger prince came unscathed out of the ordeal, but the faith of the elder was sapped, to his own miserable ruin and the ultimate ruin of his house.

The King, always the most affectionate and patient of fathers, brought his sons up to be sturdy English gentlemen. From early childhood they were made accurately acquainted with English names and family histories. They always spoke English *en famille*, and ate by preference of English dishes. They were both passionately fond of hunting, and played golf in the palace gardens. They were both musical : played the violoncello and harpsichord, and sang with sweetness and taste. They gave weekly concerts, where the best music in Rome was to be heard, and where they themselves performed—concerts largely frequented by English tourists, who were always anxious to see the king and princes.

For solid education the boys were sadly behind the standard of contemporary princes. Henry's capacity was said to be superior to his brother's, to which the elder always affectionately testified. His letters are certainly well expressed and correctly spelt, whereas the spelling of Prince Charles comes upon one with a shock. Both were fond of history, and spoke French, English, and Italian, with a smattering of Latin. Both had handsome Stuart faces, and amiable and graceful Stuart manners. We have many portraits of the boys ; the pair are now to be seen in the National Portrait Gallery. The Duke of York was the handsomer in early youth. His face is peculiarly sweet, though we are told that at seventeen he had become dark and heavy of build,* and he never attained to the lofty stature of his father and brother. He was the more popular in Roman

* "Æneas and His Two Sons."

society for his pretty manners,* and was a graceful and unwearying dancer.

Though "Æneas" says that Prince Henry was originally intended for the Church, he showed little sign of religious vocation in his boyhood. He was serious and fervently pious, but he was more of a Sobieski than a Stuart in temperament as in appearance: a proud, passionate boy, of high spirits and activity; "in all ways preferable to himself," says Prince Charles; "with more spirit than his elder brother," says Gray, the poet; haughty, impatient of contradiction, obstinate in his opinions, prone to fits of passion which were succeeded by days of sullenness. He heartily, and perhaps too openly, despised the Italians for their effeminacy. To those who pleased him, he was "as sweet as summer," always ready to overlook offences that came of inadvertency. He had a large share of courage.† At nine years old he was eager to ride with his brother and the young King of Naples to the siege of Gaeta, and passionately flung away his little sword when refused permission to "flesh" it so early. To punish him, his father took away his garter, saying it did not become him to wear one without the other. "Nature seemed to have designed him to make a figure in a military way."‡ His warlike tastes and his courage would well have fitted him for the military career he sought, but it was feared that his quick temper, inherited from his mother, must have stood in the way of his ever succeeding as a commander such as his Polish great-grandfather and his famous uncle, Marshal Berwick. His moral character from first to last was absolutely stainless, and he required regularity of conduct in others as strictly as he required it of himself.

The sad little family was bound together by ties of the warmest affection. To break this touching union, in which was so much formidable strength, was the restless care of the enemy. The King's trust was sadly betrayed by his sons' tutors, some of whom were undoubtedly in the pay of the Hanoverian Government, charged to demoralise the boys, upon whom lay all the hopes of the Jacobites and of the Catholic Church.

* Des Brosses.

† "Æneas and His Two Sons."

‡ *Ibid.*

Religion being the cause of their banishment, their less scrupulous adherents endeavoured to persuade the English people that the princes were being brought up as Protestants. This fable not serving their purpose, they next attempted so to undermine the religion of the princes as to bring it down to the level presumably required by the Anglican Church for its head, exemplified in the well-known piety and morality of its chosen sovereigns of the House of Hanover. In 1742, Prince Charles being one-and-twenty years of age, Prince Henry seventeen, the King was cruelly pained and shocked at discovering that certain manœuvres and intrigues were going on in his household, though he was unable at the time to understand their source and object. After some years, by putting circumstances together, he came to see too clearly that it was a union of men who had taken it into their heads to court merit and popularity in England* and thereby to make their fortune, by trying to win his sons to the irreligion they themselves professed. The effects of these manœuvres were not alike. With the Prince of Wales they had a too certain success. He was excitable, fond of all sorts of amusement, and even then too ready to indulge in wine. It was impressed upon him that religion alone stood between him and the crown, and that, though he might not as yet offend his father and their Catholic supporters by openly renouncing his faith, he would prove to the English a noble independence of the Church by living an evil life in defiance of its precepts. Prince Henry was, however, of a much more serious character, and too delicate in health to permit any excess. Being neither willing nor able to enter into their ideas, he soon drew upon himself their rage and malice. The leader of this system was that Francis Strickland whom James styled "the worst of men," and who, in spite of all warnings, accompanied Prince Charles to Moidart. Associated with him was a gentleman of the name of Townley, whom the King considered to be rather a fool than a knave. Prince Charles was instigated to aim at unfilial and disloyal independence: there was already a "King's Party" and a "Prince's Party." His brother was despised

* King James's letter to Colonel O'Brien, August 30, 1745 (Browne's "History of the Highlands," vol. iii. p. 445).

as a bigoted Papist, persecuted and even calumniated to English travellers and Spanish officers. Strickland feigned an affectionate loyalty towards his master, who, though puzzled and anxious, was for the time half deceived.*

In spite of intrigues, the princes remained tenderly attached to each other. Prince Henry was not taken into the confidence of his father and brother in the matter of that sudden secret flight from Rome at the midnight of January 9, 1744, when Prince Charles put fate to the touch and rode for Dunkirk—and England! There followed a weary time of waiting and inactivity while France played fast and loose with the Royal Adventurer she was so deeply pledged to support: now petting and promising, now snubbing and betraying. We hear nothing of the Duke of York for the first year of Charles' absence. On March 1, 1745, the King writes to Prince Charles:

Your brother has made a shift to divert himself a good dale these days past. He had a private comedy and a ball t'other night at Count Mariscollis and to-morrow night he is to end the Carnaval with a grand supper at M^c Bolognelli's. To-night he has at home the third and last ball.

A week later he writes: "The Duke had a great conversazione on Saturday for his birthday when there was a vast dale of company."

The King, despairing of the French assistance which he believed to be absolutely necessary for the opening of a campaign in the British Isles, applied to the Court of Madrid for leave for his younger son to serve with the Spanish army in Italy. He was not only anxious to find employment for the boy, but to separate him from the men who were about him, whom James was just then beginning to distrust. Townley, being refused permission to follow the Duke in his campaign should he make one, returned to France. A fortnight later, Strickland sought the Duke and expressed great concern for having incurred his displeasure; disowned all share in Townley's operations and professed to be pleased at his dismissal; pretended to have meddled in nothing that related to

* Letter from the King to Prince Charles, February 3, 1747 (Browne's "History of the Highlands").

him for some years past ; but owned he had formerly complained of the Duke to the King by express order of Prince Charles.* The Duke said little, but spoke of his brother with the greatest respect and confidence of his affection. " You may judge by it," the King writes to Prince Charles : " what odd work we have amongst us. It is inconceivable with what malice and violence people have acted against the Duke."

At last came the startling news that Prince Charles, weary of waiting for help, had set sail for the ancient kingdom of his fathers. James was much distressed by the rashness of such a proceeding, but took heart from hearing how its daring was acclaimed by the French as well as the Scotch. Prince Henry would remain no longer in Rome, waiting for a Spanish commission. He was eager at any risk to join his brother, but that the King could not permit in the present state of uncertainty. If ever the French should send troops into England, the Duke of York with the Duke of Ormond must be at their head ; but at present he must not cross the sea. That he might be more conveniently at hand, his father sent him to Avignon, whence he must himself write to the King of France, and in a kind of incognito, await his orders. Henry left Rome on August 29, 1745. He was anxious to be attended by a certain Captain Hay, but the King could not spare that gentleman from his own service, and he wrote to Sir John Grahame, Prince Henry's tutor, who had been about the prince ever since he was a child, to join him as his sole attendant. Indeed, James could not afford to give him a numerous attendance, and would have enough to do to keep him with decency at Avignon, should he stay there any time. Money was scarce in spite of the large dowry of the late queen and the handsome pension from the Pope. James was drained with remittances to Prince Charles. Prince Henry had pawned his own jewels for his brother's assistance. There were always numerous impoverished adherents to pension and assist, and the pension granted annually to the Duke of York since his mother's death had not been paid to the King for that year. He scarcely knew how to keep up three separate establish-

* The King to Prince Charles, March 23, 1745 (Browne's " History of the Highlands").

ments for himself and his sons. In spite of the good fortune which at first attended Charles in Scotland, James had no hope of the final success of the expedition, unless France should send assistance. He seems to have fully understood the irresistible barrier of religion that must ever stand between his family and the crown. Argenson too understood the circumstances, though he would have had the Stuarts cut the Gordian knot by renouncing their impolitic conscience.

On October 28, 1745, Charles being then victoriously reigning in Edinburgh, Prince Henry turned up in Paris, eager to appeal personally to the vacillating French King on behalf of his brother, who was compelled to delay pursuing his success by marching south for lack of French support. He went first to the friendly roof of his cousin the Duke de Bouillon, son of Queen Clementina's sister Caroline, where, on November 14, Lord Sempil and Mr. Drummond of Bochaldy hastened to put themselves at His Royal Highness's feet. "We were both extremely happy to find him so well recovered," Bochaldy writes to King James, "and in so much spirits, among a number of his friends of the Bouillon family."

He took a house at Bagneux near Paris, and sought through the Marquis d'Argenson, the Foreign Minister, to obtain audience of the King. D'Argenson informed the King of the young Prince's arrival and request, which was not refused, only forgotten by the careless, pleasure-loving monarch. At half-past six in the evening Louis suddenly remembered his engagement, and bewildered the Duc de Gesvres by sending for him in a violent hurry to bid him summon "the Prince." De Gesvres did not know what prince nor where to find him and it was, according to etiquette, impossible to ask the King for further information. While Louis impatiently awaited his visitor, De Gesvres by dint of frantic inquiries discovered that a foreign young gentleman whose name must not be named but who might possibly be the "Prince of England," was waiting in a small cabinet below. He was unearthed and brought to the King's closet. He made a profound reverence and advanced to salute the King. Louis was embarrassed, not wishing to kiss the Prince, who was really incognito as Count of Albany, and it was inconvenient to recognise his rank. The Prince, however, confidently advanced and was

kissed. He conversed for some time with the King with great good sense, and impressed the Court with his very noble air and respectful manner. He spoke gracefully of the obligations his family were under to the House of France; of his brother's bright prospects and the zeal and fidelity of the Scotch for their lawful sovereign; of the necessity for the French King's prompt help that those hopes and longings should be realised, help now more pressing than ever, that the Prince might not be crushed by the numbers of his gathering enemies.

Louis was always uneasy with strangers and did not immediately answer; then declared his belief in the justice of the Stuart cause, and kindly promised to continue his favour. Henry reminded the King how vainly his brother had attempted to procure an audience while he was in Paris. Louis was silent. D'Argenson and de Gesvres took up the conversation, and then Louis asked if the Pope were not the Prince's Godfather. He replied that he had been given many names, but had chosen to be called Henry, doubtless guessing that Papal sponsorship to be a grave disadvantage in Louis's eyes, to reckon against any assistance that might be sent against Protestant England. Louis shirked politics and went on with a weary catechism as to the Prince's education; then bethought himself of sending for the Dauphin to help him out of the awkward interview. He had forgotten to tell the Dauphin of the Duke of York's presence, and the Dauphin came in a hurry, not knowing whom he was to meet. He kissed the royal stranger, hearing the King had done so, and everybody was very much embarrassed. The poor little Prince, his heart aching with suspense, keenly aware of the embarrassment of his hosts and the unfriendliness that caused it, did not forget his pretty manners and congratulated the Dauphin upon the recent campaign in Flanders, and thanked the King for allowing him to see his son. After these compliments the conversation languished hopelessly. The interview had lasted half an hour and de Gesvres thought it time to end it. He remarked to the King that the young Prince had evidently been ill and needed rest. Henry admitted he had recently had a fever and was now shivering. He made his reverence and retired without any more embracing. He

did not know his way out, and nobody seemed willing to trouble any more about him. De Gesvres, however, accompanied him. Henry asked his guide's name, said he was afraid he had been too pressing, but de Gesvres must understand how necessary to them was the King's help and protection. He was then handed over to another official, and huddled down a dark staircase and out of the palace to D'Argenson's house. From thence he went to sup and sleep at the house of O'Brien, his father's *chargé d'affairs*, where he was met by Cardinal Tencin, who, owing his hat to King James' nomination, was the mainstay of the Stuarts in Paris.

The visit was not without fruit—such apples of Sodom as might be gathered in France. Six thousand men should be sent to England under Lord Clare and the Duc de Richelieu, or the Duc de FitzJames. Two months passed and nothing was done, save that on December 15 the Queen Marie Leczinska sent for the Duke of York to visit her in her private closet, not having seen him at Fontainebleau. She was a Pole and always affectionately disposed towards the sons of Clementina Sobieska. The Princesse de Conti, who knew him well, brought him into her presence, the Duchesse de Luynes and M. de la Mothe being present. The Dauphiness was sent for and they kissed the Prince without embarrassment this time, his incognito not being in force in private. But the visit was short; nobody even sat down.*

On Christmas day the Duke of York left Paris for Dunkirk, hoping to take command at once of the promised fleet, with Messieurs de Turenne and de Montbazan, son and son-in-law of that fast friend the Duc de Bouillon, as aides-de-camp. The Duc de Richelieu was to command under the Prince, and eleven thousand men, a train of artillery, and several horses were assembled. There was nothing against the success of the expedition, said Voltaire, except its impossibility. This excuse can hardly be accepted. For France went on shilly-shallying, though she spent five million francs over it, and the young Prince was kept eating his heart out on the coast, in sight of the white cliffs of his country, and no effort was made to put the fleet under weigh.

* "Mémoires du Duc de Luynes," tome 7ième.

D'Argenson is anxious to bring a charge of cowardice against the young Prince, whom all who knew him declare to have been of the most undoubted courage. D'Argenson's story really proves nothing of the sort, though it was repeated to Prince Charles for the purpose of setting him against his brother, whom De Luynes at this time declared to love him so passionately.

It was a dark night at the end of 1745, a week before the project of embarkation at Boulogne was abandoned. The greater number of the ships, with the Prince and Richelieu at their head, could have got out of the harbour unobserved. The English ships were far off, but there was a certain amount of danger. A council was held: the majority were for sailing. Two leaders declared the risk too great to be run, that the Duke of York's ship would be sunk at once. The Duke decided not to sail and the opportunity, such as it was, went by.*

The Duc de Richelieu, wearied of inaction, returned to Paris, complaining impatiently of the Duke's undisguised piety, which he had tried vainly to persuade him to dissemble before his Protestant followers. He never passed before a crucifix or an altar without bending his knee like a sacristan,† says d'Argenson contemptuously: "The sort of practices in vogue at Rome but which we never practice in France:" where even to make the sign of the cross seems to have been out of courtly fashion.

Still the fleet and the little army remained on the coast with the Duke and Lord Clare. In January the Duke managed to send a letter to Sir Watkin Williams, urging him to rally with his friends to the assistance of Prince Charles, and to seize some seaport town. The King was annoyed at this futile proceeding, being too fully aware of the state of things in England, the helplessness of the Welsh squires without arms or troops, the gathering strength of the enemy round London.‡

The Duke waited on the coast until Culloden brought the

* "Journal et Mémoires du Marquis d'Argenson," tome iv.

† *Ibid.*, tome vi.

‡ Letter from the King to Prince Henry, February 1, 1746 (Browne's "History of the Highlands").

last stroke of ruin to the Stuart cause. He did not return to Rome. In May 1746 he was at Arras. In June he went to visit the Duke de Bouillon in Navarre. Here Colonel Warren, on his way to fetch the fugitive Prince of Wales from the Highlands, arrived towards the end of July. He writes to King James from Paris, August 1, 1746 :

The present orders were intimated to me just as I was about to part for Navarre, there to make my court to his Royal Highness the Duke, and to receive from him due instructions relating to the present circumstances : it's wonderful how capable he is of giving good ones though so young.

He was at Clichy in October when he received the anxiously awaited tidings of the Prince's landing at Morlaix in Brittany. On October 15, the long parted brothers met. Neither absence nor intrigues had diminished their affection.

The very morning after I writ you my last [Prince Henry writes to his father] I had the happiness of meeting with my dearest brother. . . . Your Majesty may conceive it better than I can express in writing. The tenderness of our first meeting. Those that were present said they never saw the like in their lives, and indeed I defy the whole world another brother so kind and so loving as he is to me.*

For a while the brothers lived together at Clichy and all went fairly well. The French King received them kindly, the crowds cheered them, the Dauphin was very friendly and the Queen most gracious. The hero of Scotland was fêted everywhere, and the extraordinary affection between the brothers was universally commented upon.

Eager interest was taken to find Prince Charles a royal bride. He alone was indifferent on the matter, and seems to have suggested to his father that his brother might set him the example of marriage, for the King writes to him upon the subject, December 16, 1746 :

It must be very obvious to everybody that it is for the interest of our family that at least you and your brother should marry, but I don't see neither such haste in the matter. This is a very critical juncture and if our great affairs should yet go well, you might both of you have the first princesses of Europe, whereas perhaps now you could not have the last ; and besides, naturally speaking, on all accounts methinks you

* "Journal d'Argenson," tome iv. p. 320.

should think of marrying yourself before your brother. When you explain your idea to me, I shall be better able to judge of it, and it is useless till then to say any more on the subject.*

There is no suspicion here of a religious vocation for the Duke of York. So long as there was any chance of being actively useful to his brother, Prince Henry unselfishly sacrificed his private desires. With O'Brien, he appealed to D'Argenson, the Foreign Minister, that he would intercede with the Hanoverian Ministry for mitigation of the impolitic cruelties and barbarities with which the Highlanders were being harried: news of which drove Prince Charles frantic with grief.

King James arranged to send the younger prince to Spain, deeming it advisable that he should have a son at each court. When Charles heard of the plan, he stopped it by hastening himself to Madrid, quite secretly as far as the French Court knew, to seek assistance from the King of Spain. In February, 1747, while he was absent, the Dauphin, who had lost his first wife, was married at Choisy to the Princess Maria Joséphe de Saxe, and the Duke of York was present at the wedding ball.

Prince Charles returned from Spain about March 20; he had been received with coldness and refused sympathy. Discord, sown and fanned by Strickland and the Kellys, the most influential members of his household, had already begun to smoulder between the brothers and now burst into a flame. There was a sudden change of countenance at the French Court. Such poor hopes as Charles brought back from Scotland were wounded and worn out. He was thrown upon a set of unprincipled partisans who set themselves again to sap all religion and morality in the hapless prince. Bitter with disappointment, maddened by hope deferred, smarting from indignities, the prince fell an easy prey to the tempters who surrounded him. It was again urged that the religion in which he had been brought up was "un-English;" that a temperate way of living was also one that would prejudice him in the estimation of the jovial Squire Westerns and Bolingbrokes on whom he depended for English support. His brother expostulated, and he was persuaded that his brother

* Browne's "History of the Highlands."

was jealous and a fool; his father expostulated, tenderly and patiently, and he broke with his father altogether, and lived "as savage a life almost as he had lived among the Highland mountains." *

The princes separated but continued to see each other constantly, and there was still strong affection between them, though Charles treated his junior with a harshness and haughtiness which the latter, being of a temper somewhat lively,[†] found it hard to suffer even though his brother were, as Regent, virtually his sovereign. Then the blow fell that was to part them for twenty years.

On April 29 the Duke of York invited his brother to supper. Prince Charles arrived. The guests were waiting, the house was illuminated, but the host was missing: had not been seen for five hours. Sir John Graham knew nothing. The Prince waited for him until midnight in an agony of fear lest his brother should have been murdered or kidnapped by Hanoverian emissaries in mistake for himself.[‡] Not for three days was his suspense relieved by a letter from the missing Duke,[§] dated Paris, April 29, written evidently before his departure:

DEAR BROTHER,—I begin by begging you ten thousand pardons for having gone away without acquainting you beforehand. I own I deserve your anger before you have time to consider on the motives that induced me to take that step at present and to conceal it from you. I have such confidence in your goodness that I am persuaded I shall have as kind and loving an answer to this letter as has been your custom to give me to so many I have had the satisfaction to write to you since we have had occasion to be separate. I own to you plainly I have had a great longing to pay a visit to our dear king and father, who has been nearly two years now without having seen any of us, and my desire would be so easily convinced, that I venture to say, were I only to stay with him one fortnight, it would be of inexplicable comfort to me. As far as that I am sure you would be the first to approve. Now as to the time, what better could I take than, after having also of my side asked to make the campaign, I saw and knew positively it was useless for me to expect it. I could by consequence be of no particular use, your being here being more

* D'Argenson.

† Prince Charles to the King.

‡ "Journal et Mémoires d'Argenson," tome v. p. 99.

§ Browne's "History of the Highlands," vol. iii. letter lxxxi. Prince Henry to Prince Charles.

than sufficient for the mean point, so that all in reality consists to my spending that time which I would have done in running about Paris in the publick I am in, whilst all people are in campagne to spend it, and say, in making a journey which, by the comfort and exercise it will give me, must naturally be of great use to my health, which you know, is in a bad enough condition. You may be sure I have made my strict enquiries as to the road, and find it equally sure and equally easy both as to going and as to coming back. Finally, as to the motive of my concealing it from you, seek no other reason, but reflect on the tenderness you have for me. Have I not reason to conclude that you would not have allowed me to leave you without an expresse order from the King? At the same time my desire of seeing him is stronger than myself, and I had no time to loose not to travell just in the violence of the heats, but when once I have been with him, were he to think it necessary for your service, I should not stay till autome, but come back in the dog days. I would, I assure you, obey him very willingly. Having nothing more to add, I remain,

Dear Brother,

With the utmost respect and tenderness,

Your most loving brother,

HENRY.

Charles was furious, and wrote at once to his father, which was the first news the King had of his son's journey. James highly approved the step; was pleased to have the boy home "for the summer," and remonstrated with the Prince for his unreasonable wrath. Six weeks elapsed, and then the true explanation of the journey was forthcoming. James wrote, June 9, to the King of France, and to Prince Charles, June 13. It had not been solely for the pleasure of seeing his father that Prince Henry took his abrupt journey, but to consult him as to his religious vocation. He had been given to piety since his childhood, and the life he had lived in the world for his twenty-two years was to his father unmistakable proof of the purity of his motives and the reality of his vocation, so that the King would have believed himself to oppose the will of God should he resist the pious wish of his son. They had consulted the Holy Father, who highly approved and promised a Cardinal's hat at once to the young prince.*

Writing to Prince Charles, James went more into detail.

* The King to the King of France (Browne's "History of the Highlands," iv. letter xciv.).

He set before him the improbability that his brother could ever be of use to him, and therefore the needlessness of interfering with so sincere and solid a vocation. The letter is given at length in Lord Stanhope's "History of England," kind, wise and patient as are all the much-tried King's letters to his wayward eldest-born. He enclosed a touching little letter from the Cardinal-designate, completed in the King's handwriting, assuring him of his own unchanging love. From henceforth James overlooked all the young Cardinal's letters to his brother; revised, corrected, and sometimes finished them in his own hand.

Charles was beside himself with rage, and loudly blamed the influence of Tencin for his brother's action. D'Argenson,* November 1747, declares on the authority of "a certain Madame" that Tencin and the O'Briens had been bribed by a large sum of money from England to persuade Prince Henry to become a Cardinal. It was what England desired more than anything in the world. The Prince would thus be excluded for ever from the throne of his fathers, and his cardinalate would greatly prejudice the prosperity of his elder brother. D'Argenson, who is all for this world and its interests, goes on to protest that precisely the opposite mode of action should have been taken by these princes. They should have withdrawn from Rome and avoided all appearance of Catholicism. But the O'Briens, he pretends, played upon King James's conscience to persuade him to act so violently against his interests; representing that if ever Henry, by default of his brother, should come to the throne, it must be by denying his Catholic faith and eating of meats sacrificed to idols.

There is no doubt that the acceptance of the Cardinal's hat was practical renunciation of the English crown. The intelligence that the young Prince was to put on the Church's scarlet shattered every fragment of hope left to the Jacobites, all of whom abhorred the step taken by the duke as a mortal stroke to their cause. The Scots College at Paris hesitated to congratulate the Prince on his elevation, declaring that when it was known, they could not hold up their faces before their countrymen.

* "Journal et Mémoires du Marquis d'Argenson," v. 98.

With specially splendid ceremonial, Pope Benedict XIV. created Henry Stuart, Duke of York, a Cardinal Deacon of the Holy Roman Church. The Consistory met on June 3, 1747, the Pope presented the royal postulant for election, with a speech to the assembled Cardinals in which he recalled the services rendered to the Church by the young Duke's father and grandfather, their sufferings in her cause, the piety of King James, whose faith had never flinched in temptation or adversity; the efforts made, alas! in vain, for the restoration of the Church in his native land. He reminded them of the graces and virtues of Queen Clementina, and assured them that the son of such parents could not but add to the glory of the Sacred College if admitted within its pale. He was young, only just two and twenty, but St. Charles Borromeo was no older when he was exalted to the same rank. Peter of Luxembourg was only sixteen, Robert de Nobilibus only twelve, when they received the hat, and these all had sustained the dignity to the love and admiration of all.

The Prince was unanimously elected. Precedence was given to him, as a prince of blood royal, over all the other cardinals, next after the Dean of the Sacred College. He wore ermine on his mantle, and cardinals, Roman Princes, and dukes paid him visits of ceremony not to be returned. Sir Horace Mann pretends that this high precedence rankled in the proud breasts of the Roman nobles; though, himself an ambassador, he must have known that the royal cardinal's precedence was a matter of recognised order, not of private arrogance.

Charles disappeared into the darkness of his long incognito, and Henry lived on quietly with his father at the Muti Palace and at their country residence at Albano, devoting himself to the duties of his sacred calling. Silvagni tells us—quoted by Hare in his “Walks in Rome”—that he used to drive from Albano to the Muti Palace with four horses at full gallop, attended by running footmen who were so active and well-trained that they could tire out the fleetest horses. Albano, besides being famed for beautiful scenery and pure air since the days of Horace, was especially interesting to the English-hearted Princes as the See of Nicholas Breakspeare, the one English Pope.

The eventless tranquillity of the Princes' lives was startlingly interrupted in the winter of 1749-50, D'Argenson relates, by an attempt made by pirates from Barbary to kidnap them, with the object of earning the clemency of the British Government by handing over to it their royal booty. The King's servants were, however, sufficient to put the pirates to flight.

In 1759 Henry Stuart was consecrated and appointed by Pope Clement XIII. to the Archbishopric of Corinth *in partibus infidelium*.

On July 13, 1761, he was translated to the Roman See of Frascati. It is interesting to remember that until very recently that same See was held by another English Prince of the Church, Cardinal Howard. The Duke of York was also made Archpriest of the Basilica of the Holy Apostles, and in 1763 Vice-Chancellor of St. Peter's. Later on, he was made Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church and resided at the Cancellaria while in Rome, but he made his home at Frascati, where he was greatly beloved.

On New Year's Day, 1766, King James died, after seventy-seven years of exile, and his elder son returned from his angry self-banishment to claim his inheritance. The gentle Cardinal received him with all love and honour, and did his utmost to farther the cause of his forgiven brother and sovereign. But the Court of Rome had shaken hands with the Court of St. James's, and refused to acknowledge another Stuart king. There were four years of sullen protest and vain resistance, and then Charles, wearied of mortification, left Rome for Pisa and Florence, and assumed the incognito title of Count of Albany. Though Henry could not obtain for his brother official recognition as King of England, he went on serving him loyally and affectionately: most loyally of all when he persuaded him to give up "that nasty bottle:" loyally, too, when he urged him to marry.

That ill-starred marriage, from which so much was hoped by brother and friends, took place on Good Friday, 1772. It excited lively interest at home. Horace Walpole writes to Sir Horace Mann, April 21, 1772: "The Pretender is certainly married to the Princess of Stolberg. The Cardinal of York's answer last year to the question of *whither his brother was*

gone? is now explained. You told me he replied, ‘Whither he should have gone a year sooner.’”

At the beginning of 1781 the “Countess of Albany” left her husband and fled to Rome, where she threw herself upon the protection of the simple Cardinal of York, loudly accusing the King of cruelty and degrading habits that made their married life impossible, but maintaining a discreet silence upon the coming of the poet whose passion was answerable for that sad relapse into the degradation once so happily abandoned. Henry accepted the story of his “very dear sister,” sympathised with her deeply, and inquired no farther; treating her with unfailing brotherly kindness, though she unreasonably blamed him for the making up of her wretched marriage: in which he declared he had had no hand except to give his formal consent. He arranged for her reception in the same Roman convent in which his mother had taken refuge when she quarrelled with his father. He received her constantly at Frascati and made her handsome presents. Even when Alfieri turned up in Rome a few weeks later, her innocent and blameless brother-in-law was quite unsuspecting of evil. Presently he took her to live with him altogether at Frascati, and Alfieri was received there, as he had been received at the convent, as an intimate friend of the family.

At the beginning of 1783 Charles Edward fell seriously ill and sent for his brother. To him he made full confession as a dying man and received the last Sacraments at his hands. The reconciliation was complete. Then the Cardinal heard for the first time the true account of the rupture between Charles and his young wife and the whole miserable Alfieri story. Charles recovered. The too credulous Vatican was at once undeceived, and Alfieri had fifteen days’ notice to betake himself to Siena. Shortly afterwards he was joined by the Countess of Albany.

The Cardinal was greatly annoyed when Charles sent for his natural daughter, created her Duchess of Albany, and made her mistress of his Florentine household. Always himself a man of the strictest moral character, he could not bring himself to condone his brother’s irregularities even so far as to continue in full the liberal allowance his father had paid for the support of Miss Walkinshaw and her daughter when they left the

prince for Paris. The Cardinal, however, made the acquaintance of his niece at the Baths of Pisa, whither she accompanied her father, and was won at once by her sweetness and goodness and the gracious result of her care and influence upon his brother, who was in a happier and better way than he had been since defeat and hope deferred embittered his temper and broke his heart. Henry persuaded her to bring her father to Rome, where, after two more years of affectionate reunion, the storm-tossed, grief-worn heart found rest. "The torch that once shook itself with such terrific glare over Britain" flickered out.

Charles Edward died at half-past nine of the evening of January 30, 1788. As he had never been "recognised" by the Papal Court, he could not be buried beside his father at St. Peter's with royal honours. Henry therefore had him carried to his own cathedral of Frascati, where, with all kingly pomp and sincere mourning, he was laid to rest.*

The Cardinal formally announced his brother's death to the Courts of Europe, repeating his protest of his own undivided right to the throne of England, maintaining that the sanctity of his episcopal character could be no impediment in the sight of God and man; that he, therefore, thus asserted his right himself, and when he died, would transmit it to the prince next akin. All this he fixed as his last will.† Then he had struck the famous medal, with its pathetic legend: "Henricus Nonus, Angliæ Rex Dei Gratia sed non voluntate hominum." From this date his household gave him kingly honours. The younger son's crescent for difference disappears from the royal shield of England which surmounts his episcopal proclamations and other official documents. The ducal coronet over the Cardinal's Hat is exchanged for the crown. He is styled "Henricus Dux Eboracensis nuncupatus," or "Duca di Yorck denominato." So far and no farther, for conscience sake rather than ambition, he set forth his claim.

The Duchess of Albany went to live with her uncle, "whose conduct towards her," says a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, "was full of affectionate attention." He not only gave up a large portion of his palace at the Cancelleria for her residence,

* See full account of the funeral ceremonies in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1788, p. 269, and *Annual Register*, 1788.

† *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1788, p. 180.

but assigned over to her the entire allowance of £2200 which he enjoyed from the Camera, retaining only his benefices.* She survived her father only a year, having been in delicate health for some time from a riding accident.

The Cardinal was a rich man. He had, besides his Roman preferments, the two rich French abbeys of Auchin and St. Amand, which Louis XV. had presented to him in 1751 and 1755, and had also a considerable pension from Spain. In 1788 he was appointed Protector of all the Capuchin Churches of Rome.

What communications may have passed between him and the Scottish and English Jacobites remain a secret hidden in the archives at Windsor Castle. Though all hope of a restoration had long been abandoned, though an English-born prince sat on the throne of the Stuarts, there were still many thousands in the British Isles and scattered over western plantations and foreign lands who were faithful to the exiled dynasty and the theory of Divine Right. But evil days were upon all the world. A year and a half after Charles Edward's death the Bastille fell, and the peril of the Bourbon throne was of more present and burning interest to all Royalists than the lost throne of the Stuarts. The peaceful Cardinal-King in his retirement was overswept by the storm. In the turmoil and chaos of the French Revolution his French income was lost, not only his benefices, but the money he derived from his brother, which was nearly all invested in France. Napoleon brought his devastating host up to the gates of Rome, and to help the Pope to make up the indemnity demanded by the Corsican conqueror, the Cardinal disposed of all the family jewels, amongst them being the famous ruby, the largest and most perfect known, valued at £50,000. He thus deprived himself of the last means of an independent existence, and on the expulsion of Pius VI. and his court from Rome, was reduced to great distress. After having passed his days in quiet and dignified retirement at his villa near Rome till 1798, he was forced by French revolutionary banditti to renounce his comforts and property if he would save his life. After many wanderings in Sicily and elsewhere, he arrived at Venice in the winter of

* *Quarterly Review*, December 1846, "The Stuarts in Italy."

1798, infirm as well as destitute.* Cardinal Borgia, who had been acquainted in Italy with Sir John Hippisley Coxe, represented to him by letter the royal Cardinal's case.

Sir John Hippisley Coxe reported the Cardinal's destitution to George III. himself. The benevolent old king at once ordered Lord Minto, his Minister at the court of Vienna, to offer the Cardinal, with all possible delicacy, a pension of £4000 for his life. The correspondence which took place on the subject is published at length in the *Annual Register*, 1807. The Hanoverian sovereign paid graceful tribute through his ambassador to the eminent qualities of the august personage who was the object of his "generosity," declaring his wish to repair, as far as he could, the disasters into which the scourge of their age seemed to drag by preference all that was most worthy of reverence and respect. The Cardinal accepted the timely assistance gratefully and graciously, much touched by the "expressions of singular regard and consideration for himself" and the delicacy with which the business was managed.

When the Concordat between Rome and the French Republic was concluded the Cardinal returned to Rome, to end his days in the calm of his beloved Frascati. He was made Dean of the Sacred College, after being one of its most virtuous and disinterested members upwards of sixty years.† He was about the same time made Bishop of Ostia and Velletri.

Cardinal Wiseman writes of him in his "Recollections of the Four Last Popes":

The last of the Stuarts, the amiable and beneficent Cardinal of York, was Bishop of Frascati. He never would exchange his See for those which officially belonged to the Dean and Sub-dean of the Sacred College. Of that prettily situated city, successor of Tusculum, which yet gives the Bishop his title, he is still considered the great benefactor. Whatever else may have been wanting for his title, to a royal heart he was no pretender. His charities were without bounds: poverty and distress were unknown in his See. The episcopal palace was almost, if not entirely rebuilt by him, though he generally resided in a neighbouring villa. The Cathedral was much improved and richly furnished. But the Seminary or Diocesan Ecclesiastical College was the object of his peculiar care. Most of it was built by him, and the library, a most elegant apartment, and rich in many English works, was the fruit of his munificence. Though he was not himself either learned or endowed with

* *Annual Register*, 1807.

† *Ibid.*

great abilities, he knew the value of both, engaged excellent professors for his seminary and brought men of genius round him; hence his college was frequented, not only by aspirants to the clerical state, but by youths of the best families.

The diocese of Frascati was full, when Cardinal Wiseman first knew it, of recollections of the Cardinal Duke, all demonstrative of his singular goodness and simplicity of character.

His munificence was extended to other objects. Being Archpriest of St. Peter's, he presented that Basilica with a splendid gold chalice, encrusted with the jewels of the Sobieski family; and this being still kept in his house when the treasury of the church was plundered, escaped the spoliation, and, till three years ago, was used at the great pontifical celebrations at St. Peter's.

He possessed before 1798 a very valuable collection of curiosities at his villa, where many scarce tracts and interesting manuscripts concerning the unfortunate house of Stuart were among the ornaments of his library. In his will made January 1789, he had left the latter to his relation, Count Stuarton; but they were all in 1798 either plundered by the French and Italian Jacobins at Rome or confiscated by the French Commissaries for the libraries and museums at Paris.

He was a studious and well-informed prince, and a sincerely pious prelate. His purse was always open to suffering humanity, and British travellers particularly, whether ruined by misfortune or imprudence, found in him on all occasions a compassionate benefactor.*

In 1805, he was visited by Lord Cloncurry, who, as a young man, was very much mixed up with the United Irishmen and the leaders of the rising of 1798. It has been said that through Lord Cloncurry, the Cardinal Duke was implicated in the affair of 1798. This is without foundation, for the acquaintance began only in 1805, when Lord Cloncurry was travelling in Italy. He says:

Among the prominent members of Roman society in those days was the last of the Stuarts, Cardinal York, with whom I became somewhat of a favourite, probably by virtue of addressing him as "Majesty." . . . He was waited upon with all suitable ceremony (to royal state) and his equipages were numerous and splendid and freely placed at the disposal of his guests. He was in the habit of receiving visitors very hospitably at his villa at Frascati, where I was often a guest. . . . Upon the occasion

of my visit to Frascati, I presented the Cardinal with a telescope which he seemed to fancy, and received from him in return the large medal struck in honour of his accession to his unsubstantial throne.*

George III.'s son, Augustus, Duke of Sussex, paid him a visit in Rome. It certainly is odd to read that the kingly Cardinal was supposed to be flattered by the title of "Royal Highness" being "generously" accorded to him by the Hanoverian prince. To the grandson of a crowned King of England, surely such title, at the very least, must be due of right, not given in half pitying condescension.

He died at Frascati, full of honour and peace, on July 13, 1807, the anniversary of his translation to that See, aged eighty-two. On the night of the 14th his body was taken to Rome, surrounded by his weeping people, and lay the following days in the hall of the Cancelleria. Funeral services were performed in the Church of St. Andrea della Valle. He was buried in the north aisle of St. Peter's, with his parents. At the same time Charles Edward's body was brought privately from its temporary sepulchre at Frascati, and on the evening of July 16 the royal brothers were laid together:† far from the northern land they loved so well, and where they would so fain have lived and died. Over their grave their cousin George IV. raised the monument so well known to visitors to St. Peter's; a gracious and kindly act enough on the part of one whose pride it was to be esteemed the first gentleman in Europe. The monument, carved by Canova, is tasteless and dismal; the inscription runs:

JACOBO III., JACOBI II. MAGN: BRIT.; REGIS: FILIO,
CAROLO EDUARDO, ET HENRICO, DECANO
PATRUM CARDINALIUM, JACOBI III. FILIIS;
REGIÆ STIRPIS STUARDIÆ POSTREMIS
ANNO MDCCCIX.,
BEATI MORTUI QUI IN DOMINO MORIUNTUR.

To George III., in gracious recognition of the kindness which had provided for the necessities of his old age, he be-

* "Personal Recollections of the Life and Times of Lord Cloncurry," Dublin, 1849; in "The Royalist," 1891.

† "Funeral oration on the Death of Henry, Cardinal, called the Duke of York, &c." Notes.

queathed the crown jewels in his possession. Amongst them was the "George" worn on the scaffold by Charles I. and handed by him to Bishop Juxon with the word, "Remember:" also a ring worn by the ancient kings of Scotland on the day of coronation. To the "nearest lawful heir" he bequeathed his dynastic rights. That heir, at the time of his death, was Charles Emmanuel IV. of Savoy, ex-king of Sardinia, eldest direct descendant of Charles I. through his youngest daughter, Henrietta Anne, Duchess of Orleans; now represented by the Archduchess Marie Thérèse of Austria-Este, Duchess of Modena and wife of Prince Ludwig of Bavaria.

An interesting account is given in the *Quarterly* article already quoted of the vicissitudes of the Cardinal's famous and precious papers before the bulk of them was acquired by George IV. by purchase, and the remainder gradually followed them to the royal library at Windsor. A portion of those papers was published during the present reign as the first volume of the whole collection. After that publication, permission to examine farther was withdrawn.

A considerable portion of the Cardinal's real property was in Mexico, and was lost in South American revolutions. It is probable that he survived most of the heirlooms of his house.

His library went to endow his favourite seminary at Frascati; his remaining furniture, plate, and family relics have been gradually absorbed by English collectors at Rome during the last half-century.*

In Frascati Cathedral there is a touching memorial of his faithful love in the shape of a mural tablet to the left of the central doorway, erected by him to the memory of his brother.

In the British Museum may be read the oration preached on July 20, 1807, in that Cathedral by Don Marco Mastrofini, Public Professor of Philosophy, on occasion of the funeral solemnities ordered to be celebrated by the magistrate. There are two excellent portraits, by Pompeo Battone, of the Duke of York as Cardinal in the National Portrait Gallery, Trafalgar Square.

A. SHIELD.

* *Quarterly Review*, December 1846, "The Stuarts in Italy."

ART. VI.—THE STRATTON CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS, 1512–1577.

CHURCHWARDENS' accounts are always interesting; they show us a side of the life led by our forefathers, of which we get no other glimpse; then they are somewhat rare also, and we can only guess from those that have been preserved what an amount of knowledge has been lost to us by the destruction of these old inventories of church goods, for such they practically were.

They give the current price of many articles that we do not find in any other documents, and it is curious to note in Churchwardens' accounts of the same date, but in different parts of the country, how the prices vary. We who are accustomed to an almost uniform scale all over the country can scarcely realise that during certain periods of the Middle Ages there might be scarcity that almost amounted to famine in a neighbourhood, while thirty or forty miles off there was plenty of the article to be obtained.

This, and many other things of a similar nature, are depicted in many of these old account books. But they are not all of equal value and interest; so much depended upon the men who set down the various items. In some cases they put only what was absolutely necessary; in others they enlarged to some extent upon whatever they might have to enter in the account, and it is these quaint additions which are so valuable to us now.

One of the best and fullest of these books that I have ever seen are the Churchwardens' accounts for the parish of Stratton, in Cornwall. Some years ago a complete transcript was made of them by Mr. Edward Peacock, and he contributed extracts from them to the Society of Antiquaries. These extracts the society published* and this paper is the only thing that has ever seen the light relating to these most interesting series of accounts. Stratton is an ancient market town. It is

* "On the Churchwarden's Accounts of the Parish of Stratton, in the County of Cornwall" ("The Archæologia," vol. xlv. Edward Peacock, F.S.A.).

situated in the hundred of the same name, and lies upon the Roman highway. The Atlantic washes the western boundary of the parish. There is mention made of it in Domesday, and it was amongst the Manors given to Robert, Earl of Cornwall, by his mighty half brother, the Conqueror. The Church is dedicated to St. Andrew. The accounts are entered in a foolscap folio volume; the binding is of limp parchment. Many of these inventories have nothing in the way of a title page, but the Stratton volume is richer in this respect, for it possesses a very good title page, which is as follows:

THE COUNT E BOKE
OF
THE HYE CROSSE WARDENYS OF STRATTON.
a° dñi
m° cccccxij.

THE first entry is in 1512, the last in 1577, so that they cover a comparatively short space of time. I have seen churchwardens' accounts which begin earlier, and which extend into the seventeenth century. A strange thing about this Stratton book is the fact that none of it is in Latin. Usually during the early part of the sixteenth century we find the entries either all in Latin, or in a curious mixture of that tongue and English, with the occasional use of a French word, but here they were kept solely in English, so far back as we have any trace of them; and there is no admixture of the Cornish language to be met with. It may be that the priests kept these accounts and regarded the native tongue as unfitting to be used; but whatever the reason was the rule seems to have been carried out most thoroughly.

So far as can be gathered there was nothing in the nature of a legal tax connected with the Church ever in force in this parish; we find no traces of a Church rate; all contributions seem to have been purely voluntary, excepting the charges that were made for burials in the Church and the putting of names upon the bede-roll.

Burial in the open ground of the churchyard was in nearly every parish in England free, but not so interments within the churches.

I believe every parish of which the records remain to us

show that it was customary to make a charge for these burials, and the necessity for this is clear; had everyone been allowed, free of cost, to sepulchre their dead in the churches, there would very soon have been no space left, and besides the sanitary condition of the buildings would have quickly become such that it would have been impossible to use them for the services of the Church.

As it was those conditions must have been far from healthy, though no doubt at the period to which the accounts relate all bodies were buried in lead; but even under the most favourable circumstances churches in the Middle Ages became vast charnel houses.

The charge for burial in the church varied in different places, but at Stratton it was three shillings and fourpence, and this seems to have been a very usual amount all over the country, for we find from the accounts that this was the sum paid at Kirton-in-Lindsey, in Lincolnshire, from 1534 to 1682, and it also was the fee at Wilton-le-Wear, Durham, in 1723.*

The bede-roll was a list of names which contained alike those of the living and of the dead; for a certain fee anyone might place whatever names he liked on this roll, and they became entitled to the benefits from all masses said for, or prayers offered for, any one on the roll.

How often the names on the roll were recited we do not know, but it would certainly be read over on All Saints' Day, and most likely at other times set more especially apart for praying for those who were no longer of this world. Though the names of living people might be placed on the list, yet its primary cause of existence was to serve as a means of recording the names of the dead for whom the living wished especial prayers to be offered.

In many cases, no doubt, the names of living people were put on it by those who loved them, and who had no other means by which they could in any way show their desire to do all or anything that lay within their power to ensure the well being here and hereafter of the person loved.

There were also fees for certain bell-ringsings, for the lending, or rather letting out to hire of funeral vestments, church ales,

* "Archæologia Aeliana," vol. xvii. p. 81.

and things too numerous to mention, but they were not compulsory ; no one need attend the ales, have the bells rung, or in any way become subject to these charges unless they desired to do so.

The spelling that we find in these accounts is that ordinarily in use in the neighbourhood at the time, and as is usually the case, the same words are found to vary much in this respect, within a few lines of each other ; and so strange are the forms that they assume, that only those persons who are accustomed to do so can read them fluently, though any educated person could make them out by taking a little trouble.

In 1512 we find an entry relating to wax, an article which in pre-Reformation times was consumed in enormous quantities in all churches.

payd to John wolfe for vij pownde of wex a gens ester iiij s. viij d.

and the following line runs,

payd for makyyng of the same wex to Wylliam Gyste iiij d.

Wax was usually bought by the pound, and then fashioned into candles for the use of the church. Sometimes these candles were merely kept for the use of the church alone, either to light the building, or to burn ritually ; but very often the churchwardens laid in a larger stock of wax, which was made into candles of various sizes, and then they were sold at a profit to such persons as wished to purchase candles to burn before shrines or images, the money thus obtained belonging to the churchwardens for the use of the church, not to themselves privately.

The following items, in the same year, show that vestments and altar cloths had to be solemnly blessed before they were regarded as meet for the use of the church.

payd for a yerd of bokeram to make iij new Stols vij d.

paid to moses Taylour for makyng of iij new stoles mete and drynk & hyre iiij.

paid for thred jd.

paid for the blessinge of Vawter clothys and iij new stols xxiij d.

No doubt the altar cloths were given, as there is no charge either for buying them, or for materials of which to make

them, and we know that they were very commonly presented to churches.

In the following year, 1513, there is an entry relating to the "bede-roll":

rec. of Johanna paynter for iij namys which be set a pone the bedroll xs.

And again in 1515 we find,

rec. of Johanna Jeoll to putt her hosbound apond the bed roll iijs. iiij.

There are constant entries for payments for repairing vestments, windows, the framework of the bells, and numberless other things of a like kind.

One of these, in 1518, is rather interesting:

payd to the bucke bender iijs. iiijd.

One is anxious to know what were these books that required to be bound; there must have been more than one, from the amount charged.

Some kinds of work seem to have been very poorly recompensed, even when allowance has been made for the value of money at that date. In 1522 we find,

paid to Johanna morton for mending of ij surples jd.

At times items seem to be left and entered at a later date, for in 1523 there is

payd for expenses to my lord Bysshep * ys visitacion ijs od.

and in the following line appears

paid for expenses at the last visitacon at lanceston xijd.

It is amusing to note the various ways in which the sixteenth century scribes managed to spell the word Bishop. In 1515 it is boshopp; 1526, besshepp; 1531, beschepp; 1538, Bysshepp; 1556, byshoppes; and in 1559, boshypes.

Visitation, too, is spelt in quite as many different ways, and it would be very interesting to take half a dozen words from any churchwarden's accounts, note the various manner in which they are spelt and the dates, and then compare them with

* John Vesey, *alias* Hardman, consecrated Bishop of Exeter, Nov. 6, 1519. Resigned the see August 1551 (Hardy's *Le Neve*, "*Fasti Eccl. Anglic.*" i. 377).

similar accounts in other parts of the country; thus at a glance we should see the different class of spelling prevalent, say, in Cornwall, Yorkshire, and the Midland counties at a given date.

There is an entry in 1526 which shows that payments were not always made in money:

rec. of Mr. Harry Raynoe for a buck of pricksong for a grave ijs. iiij.

This means that instead of paying the fee for burial within the church that a music-book was presented as an offering in its place. No doubt this book was worth far more than the regulation charge, and would therefore be gladly accepted. In the same year we find mention made of the organ, a charge of two-pence for glue for some repairs to it that seem to have been made, and, as is almost always the case, it is spoken of in the plural as "organs." In 1527 there seems to have been a considerable amount of vestments and things of a similar nature that required mending; we find that the following sums were paid:

for di yerd of satyn of burges* for the vest ments xijd.

paid to Mystares Grenfyld for rebens of sylk for to mend the Vest mentes xvijd.

paid to the said Mystares Grenfyld for bradny † gold vjd.

paid to John peres for mendyng of the vestmentes vs.

The amount expended shows that materials were only bought to repair the vestments, not to make new ones; in that case the sum laid out would have been much more.

In 1528 there is

payd for canvass to amend the cope iiijd.

and immediately below it

for mending of the cope ijs.

This must have been the lining that was in need of restoration, for canvas is not a material suitable for forming the outer side of such a vestment as a cope.

* This material took its name from Bruges, in Flanders, where it was made.

† This was gold thread used for embroidering.

In 1530 occurs an entry which shows that the custom of strewing the floor of the church with rushes was practised at Stratton. It is found in nearly all these inventories.

payd to Elysander penvos for russshys by the yere vjd.

At Clee, a village in Lincolnshire, not far from Grimsby, the authorities of the parish formerly possessed the right of cutting rushes from a piece of land, named Bescars, to strew upon the floor of the church every Trinity Sunday.*

It is said when Charles II. attended church at St. Helier, in February, 1649, the aisles were strewn with green rushes; and even at the present day the hall of the Trinity House at Hull is thus covered. It does not seem quite clear whether Elysander Penvos had to supply the rushes, or whether it was merely his duty to see they were renewed in the church at proper times and the old ones taken away; and we are the more uncertain upon the point because in 1531 we find

paid for a pac of ruseys agenst master chamys weddyng —

The amount is left blank, and there are several other items of the same kind, as in 1541, where it is recorded

paid to John maior for a trusse of Russhes agenst Mr Arundell ys dafter was marryed iiijd.

These seem to imply that the yearly payment was for the rushes themselves, and not for spreading them upon the floor of the church, and that this payment only included what was needed for the ordinary requirements of the church, and that if for any reason it was considered necessary to use more than the stated amount, or to strew them freshly in honour of any especial event, that there was an extra charge for them.

We find in these accounts, as in most others, that there were frequent gifts of vestments made to the church, and in 1540, only seven years before the death of Henry VIII. there is an entry, which viewed by the light of the knowledge we possess is a most curious and strange item, perhaps in one way the most interesting in the book.

* H. Edwards, "Old English Customs," p. 218.

paid for the blesyng of the sute of vestments that Mr. Thomas arundell gave to the church xvjd.

For carriage of the same frome Exeter iiijd.

Most likely this account for carriage means that they had been sent or taken to Exeter in order that the Bishop might bless them, it being the custom to send any article that required the episcopal benediction to the residence of the prelate; but of course in the present case this is merely conjecture; the vestments may have been made at Exeter and sent from thence to Stratton when finished.

In 1544 the church received a gift of plate—

rec. of Wylliam Call for vj sponys of syluer of the gyft of Xpian vglow xxvjs. viijd.

Were these Apostle spoons, we wonder. It is very likely that they may have been, but there is no means of discovering what they were like. If they were the Apostles, there was only half a set given; but we gather from the context that they were probably a testamentary bequest, and that Wylliam Call was in all likelihood the executor under a will.

In 1547 there is one line in the accounts that meant much more than the writer had any idea of—

payd for rynging of the Kynges knyall vd.*

That knell was heard all over the civilised world, and even yet its echoes have not died completely away. We have no doubt that at Stratton, as at other places, the bell would be tolled as soon as the news of the royal death reached the village, but how long that might be after the event had taken place we cannot say. The affection of the people of Devon and Cornwall for the Church was very strong, and in all likelihood most of those who heard the bell at Stratton boom out on that winter's day could only regard Henry as one who had despoiled their Church of things which they revered. We have a proof that there was a strong feeling in favour of the ancient mode of conducting the services, for in 1549 we find—

* Henry VIII. died on Jan. 28, 1547.

paid for taking downe of the Rode & the pagentes yn the Redeloft & setting vp the Rode agen xd.

The roods had been taken down by a supreme exercise of the royal authority, but in the June of this year the Devonshire rebellion broke out, and it seems as if those in whom the authority at Stratton was vested believed that better days for the Church were dawning, and that they at once seized what they considered so favourable a chance of replacing the rood. If this were so what a bitter disappointment was before them! But as will be shown later they kept the rood in its place for a much longer period than was usual in most other parts of England. In the same year, but later, we find yet another indication of the changes that were taking place:

paid to John Trevelyan for iij new bookes noted for matens & even song & matens yn ynglyssh xvjd.

Evidently the churchwardens thought it worthy of being recorded that the new service books were printed in the vulgar tongue; we can have but little conception of the change that this alone must have seemed to a people who were accustomed to hear the services of the church rendered in Latin. In July 1553 the boy king, Edward VI., died, and there occurs the same words in commemoration of it as were used about his father. The spelling is varied, but the entry for father and son are alike—

for the Ryngyn off Kynges Knylle iiij.

evidently the scribe has dropped out "the" before the word king.

The Church at Stratton being dedicated to St. Andrew, naturally there was an image of him there, and the very year that Elizabeth came to the throne the Churchwardens seem to have decided that it needed repainting, and accordingly in 1558 there is:

For pentyn of Synt Andrew iijs. iijd.

This seems a somewhat high charge for merely painting what was most likely a wooden figure; but we have no means of knowing what the size of it was, or whether there was

gilding used upon any portion of it. If it were so, that would add considerably to the cost.

In 1565 mention is made of a custom which lasted in some places until the middle of the eighteenth century :

Rec. of Rycherd mark for dewyn of Woll yn the church howsse
iiijd.

The church house was a building that was often erected near to, or upon, land in the possession of the Church ; it was not usually occupied, but was used at the Church Ales ; that is, when the churchwardens brewed ale for the benefit of the church revenues it was sold and drunk there ; also at certain times it was let, such as at fairs or feasts. These church houses were not to be found in every parish, but they were very common. On the occasion referred to the Stratton Church House had evidently been let to store wool in, and there are instances to be met with of wool being stored in the church itself. Joseph Shute, Rector of Meavy, Devon, in the time of Charles I., is said to have stored wool in the church tower.* The latest instance that I am aware of occurred in the case of my great grandfather's grandfather, Edward Peacock, of Bottesford, Lincolnshire, who, during the latter part of the reign of George II., used to store his wool in the nave of Bottesford Church. I have never been able to ascertain by what supposed right he did so ; he was not the lay rector, and though he was the lord of the manor that gave no right of this kind. Most likely he did what his forefathers had been accustomed to do. The nave of the church is large, there was room for the wool and the congregation, and in the state of feeling then prevalent no one would see anything profane or disrespectful in so doing, and it would be no one's business to interfere.

There was a curious payment made at Stratton in 1570, and I do not remember ever seeing a similar one, though doubtless they occur :

Paid for mendyng of John Judes bybell which he lonyed to the church when the other was to bynd iiijd.

* Walker, "Sufferings of the Clergy," vol. ii. p. 355.

We usually regard the word "loaned," when used in the sense of lent, as of American origin, but like so many other words it seems from this use of it here that it was good provincial English in the seventeenth century.

The rood loft was taken down at Stratton for the last time in 1573, and we cannot help wondering whether it was then regretted as it seems to have been some years previously :

Paid ij men to tak down the Rowd loft mett and hyre xd.

I do not pretend to have given anything like an exhaustive description of the Stratton Churchwardens' accounts, but I have said enough to show how full of interest and information they are. Every entry teaches us something regarding the life led by our forefathers, either from a religious or social aspect.

In the various extracts the original spelling is strictly followed, excepting in the case of one word. "The" is very frequently written with the thorn, that is a letter which was formerly used to represent the sound of th. I have thought it better not to reproduce this on account of its being somewhat difficult to read to persons who are not accustomed to it.

FLORENCE PEACOCK.

ART. VII.—TWO ENGLISH SCHOLARS AND THE BEGINNINGS OF ORIENTAL STUDIES IN LOUVAIN.

IT ought not to be necessary to plead before an audience of Catholic theologians the great importance of Oriental studies in the cause of theology and apologetic. The value of Semitic languages for Scriptural exegesis has been an admitted fact in all ages from St. Jerome downwards. But exegesis is only one of the many points—vital points all of them—where Oriental science touches the domain of theology. In the century of Strauss, Renan, and Kuenen, and—*sed longo intervallo*—of popular writers like Mrs. Humphrey Ward and the late Professor Huxley, the very fundamental bases of “the Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture,” to borrow Mr. Gladstone’s phrase, suffer attacks from the side of a newer kind of Orientalism, and require us to call in for our defence not merely the “higher criticism” of the more familiar Semitic tongues, but also the results of those eminently nineteenth century developments, Assyriology and Egyptology. Nor is this by any means all. The century of Max Müller, Tiele, de Gubernatis, and Sir Edwin Arnold has developed yet new and perhaps more insidious methods of attack not on Christianity only, but on all the history of revelation, from the side of the new science of “Comparative Mythology” and the “History of Religions.” In the teaching of those sciences both the religion of the Old Testament and the Christianity of the New are supposed to find their place as merely some out of the many phases of a mental and spiritual evolution, which begins in a primitive animism and fetish worship, to end in the Sermon on the Mount and the Epistles of St. Paul; and in which Yahvé and Christ hold a place with exactly the same rights as Obatala, Thoth, Varuna, or Heraklès. It would, perhaps, be difficult to indicate any other field of research on which it is more urgent for Catholic scholars to employ their talents and energy than that of the “Comparative History of Religions,” with its concomitant branches, such as Mythology

and Folklore. But all this means a wide and thorough study of various departments of Orientalism. And what we want is an army of specialists in each of these branches.

These general remarks may serve to introduce and explain the appearance of the following historical sketch of the Oriental teachers and schools of Louvain. Among Catholic centres of learning, the Belgian University has always held an honourable place for its cultivation of such branches of Orientalism as have been of importance at different epochs. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the *Alma Mater* was publishing Hebrew Grammars and Commentaries on *Ecclesiastes*; in the nineteenth she is translating the "Avesta," commenting the "Vedas," and solving for the first time in literary history the riddles of the "Yih-King." I venture to think that the work she has done and is doing will be found no mean contribution to the advance of Christian learning.

It may be well here to point out that the history of Louvain falls into two quite distinct periods, the old and the new. The old University, entirely mediæval in form and constitution, founded by Pope Martin V. and Duke John the Good of Burgundy, in 1426, was brought to a violent end by the French Revolutionary invasion and the decree of suppression of October 27, 1797. In the interval of thirty-seven years which elapsed, an attempt was made, it is true, by the Dutch rulers of Belgium to revive a University, governmental in character, in the old city, but the attempt was a failure (1817-34). It was in 1834 that the Catholic Church, by the hands of the Belgian hierarchy, modestly began a revival of the old *Alma Mater*—for a few months in Mechlin, and then in Louvain itself, and with such happy success, that the eighty-six students of the first year have grown to over 1700 at the present moment, with all the modern equipment, especially in the domains of Natural and Applied Science, of a great European seat of learning.

For old Louvain, I have had little more to do than condense the elaborate history of its Oriental teachers contained in the exhaustive monograph of the venerable Orientalist of the present. *Alma Mater*, the late Professor Félix Nève, entitled "*Mémoire Historique et Littéraire sur le Collège des Trois Langues à l'Université de Louvain*," which was crowned by the Royal

Academy of Belgium in 1856 (Bruxelles, Hayez, 1856, 4to, pp. xviii. and 425 *). For the earlier part, of course, I have also used Valerius Andreas' "Fasti Academici Studii Generalis Lovaniensis" (Lovanii, 1650). For the Orientalists of modern Louvain, of whom I hope to be allowed to treat in a later article, I have been able to compile my account chiefly from personal knowledge of the men and their works, and from materials kindly supplied me by the former themselves. It is a pleasure to be able to offer this chapter of hitherto unwritten literary history as a small but sincere tribute of respect and affection to old masters and fellow-students at the venerable Catholic *Alma Mater*.

I.

Orientalism among Catholic Scholars before the "Reformation."

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Hebrew and Rabbinical studies began to penetrate from the Jewish to the Christian schools. Up to this date, during the course of the Middle Ages, there were but a few isolated scholars who ventured into the study of Hebrew, and of these most were actually converted Jews. There were serious difficulties which met the first students of Hebrew. One was that it was necessary to take lessons from Jewish rabbis, who exacted a great price for their teaching. Moreover, such a proceeding too often exposed the student to serious suspicions concerning orthodoxy on the part of his fellow Christians. Lastly, there was the great dearth of books and texts.

Notwithstanding such drawbacks, there is plenty of evidence to show that Catholics cultivated Hebrew and even its kindred tongues before the so-called Reformation. A well-known instance is that of Pico della Mirandola (1463-94), whose acquaintance extended to Arabic and Chaldaic, besides Hebrew. Reuchlin (1455-1522) published his "Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae" in 1506; and when his frequent intercourse with Jewish rabbis and his resistance to the decree for burning all the rabbinical books of a converted Jew got him into serious suspicion of heterodoxy and prosecution on part of the Inquisition, he owed his protection to Leo X. Spite of his persecu-

* Tome XXVIII, "Des Mémoires Couronnés," &c.

tion, he resisted the overtures of Luther. Elias Levita, "the last and most celebrated of the native (Jewish) grammarians" (1470-1549), had Cardinal Egidio for his pupil and patron at Rome. The great Polyglot of Jimenes (Ximenes) was published between 1514-17, and contains the Hebrew and Chaldee texts of the various parts of the Old Testament. The still superior Antwerp Polyglot, published by Plantin under the auspices of Philip II. (1569-72) contains in addition the Syriac version of the New Testament.

Long before the above writers, Nicolaus de Lyra, a converted Jew (died 1340), had published his "Postilla Perpetua in Biblia Universa," which were found so useful by Luther.*

II.

The Beginnings of Orientalism at Louvain.

The earliest beginnings of Orientalism at Louvain carry us back to nearly a century before the Antwerp polyglot above alluded to. And curious to say, it is not in the professional chair or the lecture-room that we come across these beginnings, but in the printers' office. Louvain has all along been well equipped with an Oriental press, never so well as at the present day, with its double set of founts, owing respectively to Beelen and de Harlez, of which we shall speak later. The remote ancestor of this press must have existed there almost at the time when Luther was born (1483); for in the year 1488 there was issued a quarto volume, entitled "Epistola Apologetica Magistri Pauli de Middleburgo ad Doctores Lovanienses," which is stated to be printed *in Alma Universitate Lovaniensi, per Joannem de Westphalia*. Now, the curious fact is that "the Hebrew quotations of this book are printed in characters of a massive form and German cut, whilst the Greek passages are written by hand" (Nève). Evidently, then, there was in the *Alma Mater* a fount of Hebrew type, even before one of Greek characters. It is easy to suppose who brought it. This John of Westphalia (he died, by the way, next year, 1489), was John Wesel or Wessel, of Gröningen in Westphalia, brought up at Zwolle under the the influence of Thomas à

* For much of the above, see Gesenius, "Geschichte der Hebraischen Schrift und Sprache." Leipzig. 1815.

Kempis and the Brothers of the Common Life.* “In the course of his wanderings, he made a long sojourn at Louvain, and must have taught Hebrew there, as he did in other cities he visited—Cologne, Heidelberg, Paris, Rome and Basel,”† J. Wessel, then, would appear from this to merit the honour of having been both the first teacher of Hebrew and the first printer of Hebrew at Louvain.‡

It is probable that in 1506, the press of Theodoricus Martinus Alostensis (Thierry Martens, of Alost), issued a “*Dictionarium Hebraicum sive Enchiridion Radicum seu Dictionum Hebraicarum ex Joanne Reuchlino*,” a quarto without name of author or year. This Martens had printed at Louvain up to 1501 in partnership with Hermann of Nassau.

Ten years later, the first step was taken towards the foundation of the first real Oriental school of Louvain.

The Trilingual College.—*Matthæus Hadrianus.*—In 1516 Erasmus came to Flanders, and the same year was inscribed in the matriculum of the university, bringing with him his doctor of theology’s degree from Padua. “Vivo,” he writes next year to Pirckheimer, “versorque Lovanii; cōptatus in consortium Theologorum, licet in hac Academia non sim insignitus titulo doctoris.” Indeed, as Valerius Andreas tells us,§ he has engaged in perpetual squabbles with these same theologians. However, he did one good thing for them: he brought about the establishment of their first chair for Hebrew. The very year of his arrival, 1516, he wrote to invite over from Germany MATTHÆUS ADRIANUS (Erasm. “Epist.,” lit. iii. ep. 39, “Opera,” t. iii. 353). This man was a converted Jew of Spanish origin (born between 1470 and 1480). At Heidelberg he had proceeded to the degree of doctor in medicine, and was there teaching Hebrew. Erasmus in the

* He remained a staunch Catholic, and is not to be confounded with John Wesel of Oberwesel, who fell away from the Church, and died 1481, a prisoner of the Inquisition.

† See Hetzel’s “*Geschichte der Hebraischen Sprache und Litteratur*,” p. 135. Halle. 1776.

‡ Or were the printer and the Hebrew scholar different persons? This would seem to follow from a paper of Ed. van Even in the “*Dietsche Warande*,” vol. iii. (N. S.), p. 167, for the year 1890, when he records a printer, John of Westphalia, who, born at Aken, near Paderborn, settled at Louvain in 1474, and worked there till 1496. (Postscript to Frank’s paper “*De Boekdrukkunst en de Geestelijkheid tot 1520*.”)

§ “*Fasti Academici Studii Generalis Lovaniensis*,” p. 85. (Lovanii, 1650.)

above quoted letter, recommended him to Ægidius Buslidius (Giles Busleiden), for the new "Trilingual College" just founded by the will of his distinguished brother Jerome.

Here we must turn back a moment to say a word of this celebrated college of the three languages ("des Trois Langues"). Jerome Busleiden was a wealthy and enlightened ecclesiastic who had held high offices in Church and State.* His love of learning induced him to leave all his property to found a college at Louvain for the special study of the three languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. There were to be burses for the support of the three professors and ten students. They were to devote themselves to the study of grammar and philosophy "up to the degree of master," and were to learn also the rudiments of Greek and Hebrew. The idea was entirely new. It excited dreadful scandal and opposition among the old-fashioned fogies of the university. It was decried as "heretical" and what-not. Erasmus fought hard for it; but there was every chance of this "*unicum nostræ regionis, imo totius Cæsareæ ditionis ornamentum*," as Valerius Andreas styles it,† coming to an untimely end, but for the interposition of Cardinal Adrian, an old Louvain student and professor, soon after (1522) to ascend the Throne of Peter as Pope Adrian VI. He summed up the whole matter in a very simple, if somewhat obvious, "oracle," as Valerius Andreas calls it: "*Bonas litteras non damno, hæreses et schismata damno*."‡ The college was therefore opened—near the fish market—and the academical historian boasts with reason that "this praise is due to our Busleiden: he was the first in Christendom to establish a Trilingual College, though his example was followed by others afterwards, as Francis I.,

* Jerome Busleiden was the esteemed friend of the great English Chancellor and Martyr, Blessed Thomas More, who wrote three elegant little Latin poems in his honour, published in his "*Epigrammata*," to be found in several editions of his works. They are given in full by Nève, Appendix C. (pp. 384–5).

† "*Fasti Academici*," p. 277.

‡ Adriannus Florentius, or Adrian Dedel, of Utrecht, had a natural attachment to the cause of literature. He studied and took his M.A. in the "Pig" College, afterwards taught philosophy in the "Falcon" College, represented the Faculty of Arts in the University Council, and took his D.D. in 1491, all his expenses being supplied by Margaret, daughter of the King of England, [no; daughter of Richard, Duke of York, and sister of Edward IV. and Richard III.] widow of Charles the Bold."—Val. And. *ut sup.*

King of France, in Paris, Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, at Oxford ; * Francis, Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, at Alcalá," &c.

We have above said that Erasmus got the Chair of Hebrew for Matthæus Adrianus, who accordingly gave his first lesson in the new college on September 1, 1518. In 1519 the Faculty of Arts consented to the "aggregation" to itself of this "Collegium Trilingue."

It is noteworthy that the first regular teaching of an Oriental language at Louvain began under the auspices of the Faculty of Arts, and not of that of Theology. This is a fact of some significance. It indicates, on the one hand, that the study of Hebrew and its kindred tongues was not looked upon at Louvain merely as an appendage to the exegesis of Holy Writ, which has been so long a popular impression among Catholics, but that it had another and independent basis to stand upon—viz., that of a philological branch of learning, and, on the other hand, it indicates the strength and the breadth of the spirit of the "new learning," the humanitarian learning, which Erasmus did so much to foster at Louvain as at Oxford and Cambridge. The position thus assigned to Oriental studies has been maintained ; and whilst at all times they have been largely drawn upon at Louvain to strengthen and elucidate exegetical and theological studies, they have always enjoyed, over and above, a position of their own as philological disciplines.

Matthæus Adrianus does not seem to have got on very well in his new home. He complained that he lived there "for two years without resources." As a matter of fact, he taught for only a year and three months. In July 1519 he resigned his chair, and in the December of the same year he went off to Wittemberg. "Conductus est Hadrianus, professor Lovaniensis," writes Melancthon to Langius next year, 1520, "qui apud nos Hebraica doceat."

We do not know much more of this primeval ancestor (in the academic sense) of Mgr. Lamy. Did he become a Lutheran, as Paquot says ? Where did he die ?

* *I.e.*, Corpus Christi, 1516-7. Fox compared his college to a beehive, and called his three professors "three gardeners." See A. Zimmermann, S.J., "Die Universitäten Englands im 16 Jahrhundert," pp. 16-18 (Freiburg, Herder, 1889).

His Oriental works were not numerous. We know only of (1) "*Introductio Brevis in Linguam Hebraicam*," 8vo., no date; also (2) "*Oratiunculæ tres: Dominica, Salutatio Angelica et Salve Regina hebraice redditæ*," 4to. both published by Gryphius at Lyons.

As to his abilities, we have a glowing eulogy pronounced upon him by Erasmus, in the already quoted epistle to Busleiden. He speaks of him as "so learned in the whole Hebrew literature that, in my opinion, there has not been any other in this age to compare with him. He is not only a perfect master of the language, but is so familiar with the most abstruse parts (*adyta*) of the authors, that he has all their books at his fingers' ends," ("*ac libros omnes sic habet in promptu ut digitos unguisque suos.*")

Two Englishmen at Louvain.—It is an interesting fact that the two occupants of the newly-founded chair of Hebrew who immediately succeeded Adrianus were both Englishmen, and connected with the national English universities. Upon the withdrawal of Adrianus, the vacant professorship was conferred upon ROBERT WAKEFIELD. This person was a North of England man, possibly a native of Yorkshire. He had been educated in his youth at Cambridge, where he had studied arts, philosophy, and theology. Afterwards he, like so many other scholars in the Middle Ages, went abroad to various seats of learning; but in his case it was a particular taste for Oriental languages that was the moving power. It is said that he had mastered Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac.

Very short, however, was his stay at Louvain, for he occupied the Hebrew Chair only four months—August to December 1519. The next place we find him at is Tübingen, when in 1522 we find he succeeded the very celebrated Orientalist, Reuchlin; but he did not stay there long, either, in spite of the efforts of Duke Ferdinand of Wirtemberg to keep him. He seems to have been of a roving disposition.

A word may be said of his subsequent career, which is not very creditable. In 1524 he was back in Cambridge, and his Oriental and Biblical learning soon brought him into the notice and favour of Henry VIII., to whom he became chaplain (*a sacris*). Later on he taught at Oxford. It is regrettable to record that he strenuously supported the King in the divorce case, writing a work in favour of it ("*Kotser Codicis*," London, 1528); and

took an active part in the suppression of the monasteries. Indeed, he was supposed to have plundered the library of Ramsgate, and carried off, among other tomes, for his own use, the Hebrew dictionary of Laurentius Holbeccius. F. Zimmermann speaks of him as though he had remained staunch to the Old Church, like his brother Thomas, the first public professor of Hebrew at Cambridge.* But at least his books were suspected of dogmatic errors, and his conduct we have already seen.

He died in London in 1537 or 1538. Of his writings we may record the following :

(1) "*Oratio de Laudibus et Utilitate trium Linguarum Arabicæ, Chaldaicæ et Hebraicæ, atque Idiomatibus Hebraicis quæ in utroque Testamento inveniuntur.*" 4to. Cantab. 1524. (This was his inaugural lecture at Cambridge, and Nève says of it, "An interest of novelty must no doubt have attached in his days to his comparison of the three languages.")

(2) "*Paraphrasis in librum Kohethe (vulgo Ecclesiasten) succincta clara atque fidelis.*" 4to. (We shall see further what a favourite study at Louvain was that of Ecclesiastes.)

(3) "*Syntagma de Hebræorum codicum incorruptione.*" 4to. Oxonii. 1552 (posthumous).

We need not mention his theological and canonical writings.

On leaving Louvain, Wakefield recommended a fellow-countryman, ROBERT SHIRWOOD, to succeed him. This person was a native of Coventry, and had studied at Oxford. His career at Louvain is summed up by Valerius Andreas in a single sentence : "*Post mensem unum professionem inglorius deseruit.*" We know nothing of his subsequent life, except that he probably lived on for several years in Belgium, though he does not seem (in spite of Pitsens) to have taught again at Louvain. As an author he was "a man of one book," viz., "*Ecclesiastes Latine ad veritatem Hebraicam recognitus, cum nonnullis annotationibus Chaldaicis et quorundam Rabbīnorum sentiis.*" 4to. Antverpiæ: Vorstman. 1523.

It is noteworthy that, like his predecessor and successor, he chose the Book of the Preacher for commentary. His work† attained a certain celebrity, so that it merited to be inserted by

* "*Univ. Eng. in 16ten Jahrh.*," p. 124.

† Dedicated to Abbot John Webb of Coventry.

Pineda in his great "Commentary on Ecclesiastes," published at Seville a century later.

Thus, the close of 1519 saw the new Hebrew Chair vacant yet again, three resignations having taken place in one year! It is also remarkable that the three first Orientalist professors of Louvain were foreigners; on which Nève observes that the circumstance indicates "at least the fraternity and free relations existing between the great European seats of learning in the Middle Ages."

L. C. CASARTELLI.

ART. VIII.—A HANDFUL OF IRISH BOOKS.

The Story of Early Gaelic Literature. Hero Tales of Ireland. The Three Sorrows of Story-Telling. Tales of the Irish Fairies. The Irish Song-Book. A Parish Providence. Castle Rackrent.

NOBODY can have failed to notice what has been called "the present rage for Scotch stories." A rage for Irish "stories" has not yet set in—meanwhile an Irish renaissance is going forward. The *New Irish Library* is one outcome of this circumstance. Perhaps this library has produced no book quite so notable as Dr. Douglas Hyde's "Story of Early Gaelic Literature."

It would seem [writes Dr. Hyde in his preface to this work] reserved for this coming century, unless the most vigorous effort of which our race is capable be at once made, to catch the last tones of that beautiful, unmixed Aryan language which, with the exception of that glorious Greek, which has now renewed its youth like the eagle, has left the longest, most luminous, and most consecutive literary track behind it of any of the vernacular tongues of Europe.

In the hundred and odd pages that go to make his brilliant little work, Dr. Hyde tells story upon story. In the very first chapter we are introduced to a prince and a princess, the strange tale concerning whom being rationalised—and the narrator promptly rationalises it, herein following, as he says, O'Curry shows that inscribed tablets in the reign of King Art in the second century had become fastened to each other, so that "they clung inextricably together, and could not be separated." That pleonasm is Dr. Hyde's, whose English style is not a little affected by his Gaelic studies. A capital chapter on the early use of letters (*i.e.*, symbols) among the Irish is followed by one on early Irish learning, this being followed by a chapter on some early native poets.

I should be slow [says Dr. Hyde] to absolutely reject the authenticity of a poem simply because the language is more modern than that of the bard to whom it is ascribed could have been, and it seems to me equally

uncritical to either accept or reject much of our earliest poetry, a good deal of which may possibly be the actual (but linguistically modified) work of the supposed authors.

That sentence, to speak in words employed by Dr. Hyde himself, referring to another Irishman, "runs in a very German kind of fashion;" none the less is its matter admirable, and truly ingenious is the process by which Dr. Hyde manipulates a few lines of the thirteenth century poem, the "Brut" of Layamon, showing how they might become gradually modernised and mangled, while preserved in folk-memory and after having undergone very striking changes might yet remain, to all intents and purposes, lines from the "Brut" of Layamon. Enthusiast as he is, Dr. Hyde will not allow that the condensation which was brought about in Gaelic poetry by the necessity of conforming to the most rigid rules of versification, that the alliteration and other *tours de force* which mark ancient Irish poetry all along the line are a blemish. The utmost he will concede is that it is impossible to enjoy this kind of verse in a translation. Those who read his own very clever Englishing of a quatrain (one of many quatrains) in which Queen Mève bewails the death of her husband, Cuchorb, son of Mochorb, will probably be of his opinion in this matter. The quatrain, "done into the exact versification of the original, in which interlinear vowel-rhymes, alliterations, and all the other requirements of the Irish are preserved and marked," runs as follows:

Mochorb's son of Fiercest Fame,
Known his Name for bloody toil,
To his Gory Grave is Gone,
He who Shone o'er shouting Moyle.

There is good head in this, but there is no heart in it. One is glad to come upon prose translations. The following, by O'Donovan, of a part of the first poem which Finn M'Cool is said to have composed after his eating of the salmon of knowledge, contains, as pointed out, some beautiful touches of nature-poetry,

May-day, delightful time! How beautiful the colour! The blackbirds sing their full lay. . . . The cuckoos sing in constant strains. How welcome is ever the noble brilliance of the seasons! On the margin of

the branching woods the summer swallows skim the stream. The swift horses seek the pool. The heath spreads out its long hair. The weak, fair, bog-down grows. Sudden consternation attacks the signs; the planets, in their courses running, exert an influence; the sea is lulled to rest; flowers cover the earth.

This is better than anything of the kind known to me in English literature prior—I had almost dared say—to Wordsworth.

Of the ignorance among the Anglo-Irish of their own literature, a sad tale is told in a footnote. It is this:

When in Trinity College, a few years ago, the subject—the first Irish subject for twenty-seven years—set for the Vice-Chancellor's prize in English verse was *Deirdre*, it was found that the students did not know what that word meant, or what *Deirdre* was, whether animal, vegetable, or mineral. So true is it that, despite all the efforts of Davis and his fellows, there are yet two nations in Ireland. Trinity College might to some extent bridge the gap, if she would, but she has not even attempted it.

Some knowledge concerning *Deirdre* may be gleaned from perusal of chapter vii. of this "*Story of Early Gaelic Literature*," and almost all knowledge concerning her, howbeit not all, may be gleaned from perusal of another work by Dr. Hyde, to wit, "*The Three Sorrows of Story-Telling*." In this work we are told in blank verse not of the best, but here and there very readable, the three great stories of Irish antiquity—"Deirdre," "*The Children of Lir*," and "*The Fate of the Children of Tuirean*." Till these tales meet with better telling, mayhap from Dr. Hyde himself, all lovers of what is best in Ireland's literature will do well to read them as given here. They are in themselves of such high beauty that even as told in poetry which has too few of the touches dearest prized, they will not fail to give delight. No such stinted praise shall be accorded to Mr. Perceval Graves' delightful Irish song-book, which is now in the second edition. This book opens with Moore's "*Erin, the Tear and the Smile in Thine Eye*," and, if Moore's songs are to be classed into emeralds and bits of green glass—that happy phrasing is Mr. Graves'—here in the forefront of the collection is an emerald. Every possible song, as described by an Irish song-writer of the past, will here be found within the space of two

hundred pages—the gay, the hopeful, the loving, the sentimental, the lively, the hesitating, the woeful, the despairing, the resolute, the fiery, the variable. When was song gayer than Moore's "To Ladies' Eyes," or than Lysaght's "Kate of Garnavilla?" The hopeful is not so often a feature of Irish song, but there is the right buoyancy in such songs as Moore's "Rich and Rare were the Gems she Wore." Old friends—and new—will be found in this compilation, which has boldly taken to itself the name "The Irish Song Book," and which has bravely made good its claim to be regarded as that.

The folk-lorists of Ireland appear to be as busy as any other of her writers. Two compilations by Mr. Curtin lie before me; one, "Hero Tales of Ireland," the other, "Tales of the Irish Fairies." The "Hero Tales," it is stated, though told in modern speech, relate to heroes and adventures of an ancient time, and contain elements peculiar to early ages of story-telling. The chief actors in most of them are represented as men, but these men, we are asked to believe, are substituted for heroes who were not considered human when the stories were told to Celtic audiences originally. The editor himself considers the hero of the first (and best) story in his collection, the smith Elin Gow, to be the Celtic Vulcan, and the story which tells of him in veritable fairy-tale fashion,* is thus raised to the dignity of myth. Comparisons are not always odious, and the Greek will forgive the Irishman who points out to him the moral superiority of Elin Gow to Vulcan, as the Irishman will forgive the Greek who points out to him the intellectual superiority of Vulcan to Elin Gow. The story which opens these "Hero Tales" is one which ought not only to delight all children, but to find readers of a larger growth, who will read not only what is in the lines of the book, but what is between the lines of it, who will grasp the importance of such facts as this one—that, frequent as are birds and beasts in these tales, they never fill the chief place in any. They figure as minor characters; there is no tale in

* "There was a smith in Cluainte. . . . He was the best man in Erin to make a sword or any weapon of combat. From all parts of Erin, and from other lands also, young princes who were going to seek their fortunes came to him to have him make swords for them. Now what should happen but this?"

which a beast plays—as in the great Teutonic story of Reynard the Fox—the title-rôle. Yet another fact worth perpending is this—the beast which figures most largely in Irish myth is (all cockneys should take note of this) not the pig, but *the cow*. She comes down from the sky, and, alack ! goes back to the sky. Is she a cloud, and is all the milk that she gives water ? Poor Ireland ! She plays the part of a ship ; that is to say, an Irishman finds her one day on the brink of the sea. He thinks she is going in, and catches her tail to hold her back. What then ?

She swept him along, and went through the ocean, he keeping the grip he had, and she going with such swiftness that he was lying flat on the sea behind her, and she took him with her to Spain.

A journey from Ireland to Spain accomplished by holding on to the tail of a cow : here is a feat which, as far as goes my knowledge of feats, has never been surpassed. Only an Irishman, we Irish will like to think, could have reached Spain in safety by this means, just as only an Irishman would have performed the feat in this book recorded of Shawn Mac-Breogan—"He gave the man a blow between the head and shoulders that put the head a mile from the body," and just as only an Irishman would have given this answer to the man who asked him, "Where are your arms of defence in this great world, Micky Mor ?" "I have never wished for a weapon but my own two fists that were born with me."

Brave words ! The "Hero Tales" are full of brave words, and, what is better, are full of brave deeds. A book this to give to a boy, to make a man, perhaps a hero, of him. Of a wholly different character is Mr. Curtin's other book, "Tales of the Fairies." We have here stories not only of fairies, but of ghosts. The compiler has taken them down from the lips of the people in South-West Munster, and how daring is sometimes the language which he transmits to print may be seen in such dialogue as this. (John Connors, believed to be dead, comes back to the priest of his native village.) "In the name of God," said the priest, "are you dead or alive ?" . . . "I'm alive. Who would kill me ?" "God who kills everybody."

The priest is an excellent man, and the Saxon who starts at

this phrasing is the man who has not (as what Saxon man has ?) seen into the depths of an Irishman's piety. The tale of John Connors and the fairies—it is, to be more explicit concerning it, the tale of John Connors, the fairies, John Connors' wife, his daughters, his son, the priest and the farmer, and the farmer's servant boy and servant girl, and the doctor—is one of the sweetest and wisest and wittiest tales that were ever told in a dozen pages. All maids and mothers should read it, and no harm will be done, but great good, if here and there a man, especially an Englishman, should read it. It is books like this which cast the whitest, brightest light on that still unsolved enigma, the Irish character.

A wide gulf separates Mr. Curtin's compilations from the singular booklet called “A Parish Providence,” in his admirable introduction to which Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, as editor of the New Irish Library, says :

There are stories which move the reader with a silent longing to imitate, if it be possible, the courageous actions or generous sacrifices which they paint; and this story of a “Parish Providence” is, I think such a one. It does not address itself to the passions or to the more passionate sentiments, yet I believe there are few narratives of crime or danger which hold a sympathetic reader so spellbound. A career of personal ambition and self-display seems pitiful beside the picture of practical wisdom and cheerful, silent sacrifice which constitute the life of the country doctor.

When I first read the “*Médecin de Campagne*” (on which this story is founded), I thought an Irish gentleman could scarcely lay down the book without self-reproach, if he had done nothing to aid his own people by similar counsel or example in a country where discipline and guidance are so painfully needed. Our people are so destitute of practical and technical teaching, that a man here and there who acted in the spirit of the hero of this story might in a brief time change the face of social Ireland to something brighter and better.

To do this, the “man here and there” would, according to Sir Gavan Duffy, foster industries pursued under the domestic roof, as they exist in Switzerland and Belgium; he would bring the isolated attempts to foster cottage industries into communication with one another; he would make the special products of Dublin as notable as the *objets de Paris*, he would mayhap set up himself as a publisher of Irish stories with Irish illustrations, thus keeping the book-trade at home, and,

like the Chambers of Edinburgh, earning an honourable renown into the bargain; he would—Sir Charles Gavan Duffy leaves no touch out in his description of the “man here and there—when he rises in the morning be lathered with a brush and shaved with a razor made in Ireland, he would be washed with soap, and would be groomed with a comb made in Ireland. Here were indeed a consummation devoutly to be wished for!

Apart from the remarkable introduction to it, “A Parish Providence” is a book worth possessing, though the purchaser of it should be put upon his guard. The title in full of the book is, “A Parish Providence: A Country Tale: By E. M. Lynch.” Now, this work is not a country tale, and it is not by E. M. Lynch. It is, as nearly as it will be defined, a monograph, and it is an adaptation from the French. It deals with a French philanthropist, whose actions are set before us as recorded by himself in conversation with a French officer. “My notion is,” says this man, expressing himself in truly Gallic fashion, “that a man (when he is sure of his listener’s comprehension and sympathy) ought to like to say. ‘I did this, or that!’” Never did any man act more up to his notion than this French philanthropist, all of whose talk is, “I did this—and that.” To his credit it shall be admitted that there is nothing that he did concerning which there might not be said to any one of the listeners, go thou and do likewise. Those who are not so wholly British as to be repelled at the outset by the large use of the first person in this book will read it, if not indeed with equal pleasure and profit, for there is more in it that is good than that is pleasing, yet with great and growing interest. Those who do not fall foul of its dulness—it is sometimes very, very dull—will allow that, apart from its merit viewed as a contribution to political economy, there is in it here and there a quality which marks the writer of it as not without some literary gifts. Here is a picture of a man of the *Grande Armée* making his way along a mountain-road:

The rider seemed to enjoy the landscape without feeling any surprise at its astonishing variety and charm. Napoleon destroyed the capacity for astonishment in his soldiers. A sure sign of the men who fought under the Emperor’s imperishable eagles was their imperturbably calm expression.

That is good, and this (the same man is under consideration) is better. "If his face was carefully studied it would give up its secret of an ardent nature completely under control."

But the best touch in this character-portrait is what follows:

Although he understood military tactics, fencing, and all the secrets of the veterinary art, he might have boasted in many departments of "a great and varied ignorance." He knew, in a vague sort of way, that Cæsar was either a Consul or a Roman Emperor; and that Alexander was either a Macedonian or a Greek; but when historical conversations were carried to any length he limited his share in them to sapient nods and glances.

The style in that is not equal to the matter, which is admirable. The wording is crude and conventional, with the exception of the brilliant phrase in quotation marks. There are, by the way, too many phrases in quotation marks in this work. A sentence that will annoy many is this: "He noticed 'the smoke that so gracefully curled,'" and, by the time that they have somewhat recovered from the vexation which such jargon arouses, they will be angered anew by penny-a-line such as this: "The wine included some fine old Hermitage; and 'the feast of reason and flow [*sic*] of soul' fitly matched the material part of the repast."

The writer is always best when portrait-painting. The following full-length picture of the philanthropist is one of many pictures similar.

Somerville was of ordinary height, but unusually broad-shouldered and deep-chested. He was wrapt in a great coat which hid much that was characteristic in his figure and gestures; but the shadow and stillness that cloaked his body served only the more powerfully to bring out and emphasise his face. He had something the look of the faun of the classics; the same slightly-arched forehead, full of more or less characteristic prominences; the same short nose, with its cleft point (which is a sign of cleverness); the same high cheek-bones. His lips were full and red, and the mouth had plenty of what painters call "form" in it. The chin was strongly cut. His eyes were brown, and their bright glance was greatly intensified by the pearly brilliancy of the white of his eyes—that sort of eye tells its tale of a nature, once fiery, now curbed. His hair had been black, but was grey; and even his eyebrows were grizzled. There were deep furrows in the face, and many a sign of the very laborious life of the man who works with the brain; such as a skin "marbled" or flushed in patches, and veined in red, too, with a slightly puffed look, here and there.

There is good, bad, and—alas! indifferent in that, but the good is excellent, especially in the opening sentences.

Many *obiter dicta* might be gleaned from this little book, short pithy sayings of the kind that are very helpful to the class of people among whom it will probably circulate most largely, such, to wit, as these:

A woman who reigns in undisputed authority is sure to be always singing.

There is no more trouble in saying a wise word than in talking nonsense.

As for trouble, it is no more trouble to do good than to do harm.

If rogues spent their energies in useful work they would end by being millionaires instead of going to the treadmill.

There is an attraction between the needs we create and the means of satisfying them.

People who have no wants are poor.

A butcher's shop is as sure a sign of intelligence as of prosperity. Whoever works, eats; and whoever eats, thinks.

The element of paradox which will be observed in some of the above *dicta* figures with startling frequency in these pages. It is seen in such wording as this (the speaker alludes to clockmakers, upholsterers, stationers)—“the purveyors of the superfluities that are the necessities of life.” Some will not like the book less on this account, and one and another will, I think, concede that a remark like the following, put into the lips of the officer, is of the things in literature that are very good:

“Surely, you don't do good that men may pay you the exorbitant interest called gratitude? That's usury!”

A word about the English of Mrs. Lynch. It is not always all that it might be. One who had mastered the chapter on the verb as treated by the best contemporary grammarians, would not be guilty of such wording as this, “After having played, worked and *sang*, his way from one end of Italy to the other.” The punctuation of the book also leaves something to be desired. Meanwhile, with all its faults, it is good enough to deserve a hearty welcome, and it will get this from many. More still will welcome the re-issue of Maria Edgeworth's “Castle Rackrent.” Perhaps there is no surer sign that contemporary novel readers are recovering from what a worthy Scotchman

has termed "fever on the spirits," and that they are beginning to show again a healthy appetite for what is wholesome, than the republication just now going forward throughout Britain of the works of such writers as Walter Scott, Jane Austen, and Maria Edgeworth. The capital series of Illustrated Standard Novels which Messrs. Macmillan, of London, are now issuing at the popular price of 3s. 6d. is ushered in by Maria Edgeworth's "Castle Rackrent" and the "Absentee," illustrated by Miss Chris. Hammond, and having an introduction by Anne Thackeray Ritchie. The efforts of three ladies were never combined to better purpose. It is needless at this time to praise the delighting wit of a woman than whom even Ireland has scarce produced a wittier, and it is equally needless to enlarge on the taste and tact of Thackeray's daughter, wherefore it only remains to be said that the illustrations with which Miss Chris. Hammond enriches the work here under consideration are wholly worthy of it. A veritable little masterpiece of wit in draughtsmanship is her picture of Miss Nugent enumerating to my lords Colambre and Clonbrony the discarded suitors for the hand of her friend, Miss Broadhurst, the picture subscribed, "First came in, hobbling, rank and gout; next, rank and gaming;" equally admirable, as showing an exquisite appreciation of the Irish author's peculiar vein of humour, some will think the picture dealing with Sir Kit's first walk through his estate with his foreign wife.—"Where are the trees?" said she, "my dear?" "You're blind, my dear," says he. "What are those under your eyes?"

"The trees" which were under the lady's eyes, and behind her insolently held glasses, must be seen in Miss Hammond's drawing for this scene to be grasped in its full humour—and its full pathos. Somewhat more of the talk of the lady, all of whose talk was, according to the indignant servant who treasured it up, "What's this, Sir Kit?" and "What's that, Sir Kit?" is worth transcribing:

"What do you call that, Sir Kit?" said she. "That—that looks like a pile of black bricks, pray, Sir Kit?"

"My turf-stack, my dear," said my master, and bit his lip.

"And what's all that black swamp out yonder, Sir Kit?" says she.

"My bog, my dear," says he, and went on whistling.

"It's a very ugly prospect, my dear," says she.

"You don't see it, my dear," says he, "for we've planted it out. When the trees grow up in summer-time," says he.

"Where are the trees," says she, "my dear?" still looking through her glass.

"You're blind, my dear," says he; "What are these under your eyes?"

"These shrubs," says she.

"Trees," said he.

"Maybe they are what you call trees in Ireland," said she, "but they are not a yard high, are they?"

"They were planted out but last year, my lady," says I, to soften matters between them, for I saw she was going the way to make his honour mad with her; "they are very well grown for their age, and you'll not see the bog of Allyballycarricko'shaughlin at-all-at-all through the screen, when once the leaves come out. . . . You don't know how many hundred years that same bit of bog has been in the family; we would not part with the bog of Allyballycarricko'shaughlin upon no account at all; it cost the late Sir Murdoch two hundred good pounds to defend his title to it and boundaries against the O'Learys, who cut a road through it."

Now one would have thought this would have been hint enough for my lady, but she fell to laughing like one out of her right mind, and made me say the name of the bog over, for her to get it by heart, a dozen times; then she must ask me how to spell it, and what was the meaning of it in English—Sir Kit standing by, whistling all the while.

Sir Kit standing by, whistling all the while. In the whistling of Sir Kit what ominousness! The story dealing with him and his is saddest reading, despite the open smiles and close smiles running through it. In days in which the sad in art is set at so high a value as it is at present, the work should find no fewer readers on this account.

ELSA D'ESTERRE-KEELING.

Science Notices.

Recent Experiments with Röntgen's Rays.—It may be said without exaggeration that the public interest manifested in the newly discovered radiation is without precedent in the annals of scientific investigation. Not only has the subject absorbed the greater portion of the transactions of the learned societies in all parts of the world, but it has been popularised far and wide in lectures, addresses and demonstrations. The X rays have even found their way into the programme of a London Music Hall.

Three of the most important recent advances in the practical application of the discovery to surgery seem to be, (1) the invention of an instrument by which the shadowgraphs can be made visible to the eye without the intervention of photography; (2) the combination of the fluorescent surface and photographic plate which appears to shorten the necessary time of exposure; (3) Mr. Edison's observation that calcium tungstate, when suitably crystallised, shows fluorescent phenomena under the X rays in a very marked degree.

The cryptoscope of Professor Salvione affords the means of seeing directly the shadow of any substance practically opaque to the Röntgen radiation. The instrument, however, is probably capable of considerable improvement. As it is it consists of a small cardboard tube about eight centimetres high. One end is closed by a sheet of black paper, on which there is a layer of fish glue and calcium sulphide, forming a good phosphorescent surface under the action of the rays. Within the cardboard tube at the other end, where the eye is placed, is a lens, so that a clear image of the phosphorescent surface is given. If an object is placed between the source of the X rays and the paper end of the tube those portions of the objects which intercept the rays will shield some of the surface from the phosphorescent action. Thus dark shadows of such objects as the bones of the hand, coins inside a purse, can be distinctly seen.

With regard to the combination of the photographic plate and fluorescent surface, there is a wide field of research opened out to the student of the X rays. There seems to be conclusive evidence that the time of exposure may be shortened by the use of a suitable fluorescent material applied either in the form of a screen behind the photographic film or introduced into the substance of the film itself.

Professor M. L. Pupin recently brought the subject of the combination before the New York Academy of Sciences, and in his opinion the successful application of the discovery to surgery depends upon a successful solution of the problem of combination. Placing in contact with the photographic plate a fluorescent screen, he has obtained photographs of the hand at a distance of 4 inches from the tube in a few seconds; at the distance of 25 feet in half-an-hour.

Though there is considerable promise of increased efficiency and reduced time of exposure in the combination, there are some workers who record the taking of photographs with short exposures without the use of fluorescent screens. Dr. John Macintyre claims to have photographed the elbow-joint in one and three-quarter minutes some weeks ago, when the working of the tubes was more imperfectly understood than it is now. Since then he has obtained records of metallic objects in half a second, and the bones of the hands in six seconds. With reference to the subject he says: "At present I go while the tube is being exhausted and test the result before it is taken off the pump. When I am examining an object with the screen, or about to photograph, I heat the tube and keep the current passing through until the maximum effect is obtained. I have now seen by this means the different bones of the extremities and joints; moreover I have no difficulty in seeing through the body itself." Still more recently, Dr. Macintyre has achieved fair results with still more rapid exposures, using an ordinary focus tube. One flash of the tube gave a well defined image of metallic objects, and distinct, though faint, image of the bones of the fingers.

Dr. Ferdinando Giazzi, of the Regio Instituto Technico, Perugia, appears to have tested the truth of Mr. Edison's claim of having discovered that calcium tungstate, when suitably crystallised, shows fluorescent phenomena under the action of the X rays in a far more marked degree than barium platino-cyanide. The preparation of the tungstate in the desired form proved no easy task. Dr. Ferdinando Giazzi says that he never dealt with a body so intractable. After many unsuccessful attempts, he adopted the following process in preparing it for surgical purposes: "I treated a dilute aqueous solution of sodium tungstate with a solution of calcium chloride, given to me by my colleague, Professor Cornelian; I thoroughly washed the resulting pure white precipitate, and dried it at a gentle heat in a porcelain capsule. Next I made a small hole in a piece of fresh retort carbon, and filled it with the precipitate, which I fused and boiled by means of a small flame from an oxy-hydrogen blow-pipe. After boiling for some seconds (at a bright white heat), I gradually removed the substance from the hottest parts of the flame, so that solidification

took place only after a few minutes. In this way I obtained five globules of calcium tungstate of the required structure. I powdered them in an iron mortar, and sifted the powder on to a gummed card, which I exposed in the camera to Röntgen rays. The result was most striking; I saw at once the shadow of the skeleton of my hand more clearly than I ever have with other preparations. A surgeon with this product, good Crooke's tube, a large coil, and an apparatus such as I have arranged, could certainly dispense with the tedious process of photography."

Recent researches of Dr. J. Jolly, Lord Blythswood, Professor O. N. Rood and Mr. Tesla have proved that the Röntgen radiation can be reflected, though it is still debated whether the rays undergo a regular reflection as in the case of light. Dr. Jolly has found that the rays are reflected at the surface of mercury, lead, glass and wood. He enclosed a photographic plate in a light carrier of mill-board, upon the outside of which a copper ring was attached; this he exposed in the geometrical shadow of a thick lead plate to rays which, entering a slot in the plate, were reflected at the surface of mercury. After an hour's exposure, a shadowgraph of the ring was produced. Lord Blythswood photographed various objects by reflected rays with an exposure of twenty minutes. Professor Rood has reflected the rays from a platinum surface, and by this means taken a photograph of a piece of iron wire netting with an exposure of ten hours. Mr. Tesla, in his experiments, placed the reflecting plate at an angle of 45° to the direct ray, and then placed the photographic plate at right angles to the direction in which the reflected ray should pass if regular reflection existed. The time of his exposure was one hour.

The success of these experiments is, however, not sufficient to prove the existence of regular reflection. Professor Pupin thinks the experiments tend to confirm Professor Röntgen's opinion that regular reflection does not exist, though there is a diffuse scattering of the radiation through all bodies. Professor Pupin would call the phenomenon deflection rather than reflection, reserving the term reflection for those particular cases in which the angle of incidence is equal to the angle of reflection.

Professor Alfred M. Mayer has contributed valuable experiments which seem to bear out the opinion of Professor Röntgen that the X rays are not polarisable. This is a most important point for strengthening the theory that these rays are not produced by vibrations transverse to the direction of their propagation. Professor Mayer has recently contributed to *Nature* an account of these experiments.

He states that to come to a definite conclusion as to whether Röntgen's rays are polarisable by passing them through a doubly refractive media,

it is necessary that the substance chosen to act on the rays must be of low density, very thin, and yet afford polarisation to ordinary light. In herapathite, an iodo-sulphate of quinine, he has found these qualities. It has a density of only 1·8, and crystals of herapathite only 0·05 mm. in thickness, with their axes crossed at 90°, entirely obstruct the incident light so that their crossed portions appear intensely black.

Professor Mayer covered six discs of glass, 0·5 mm. thick and 25 mm. diameter, with crystal plates of herapathite, crossing one another at various angles. A black field was produced while they crossed at right angles. He fastened these discs to the surface of a screen of compressed brown paper which was found to be impervious to the rays of an electric arc light, placed one foot from the screen, during an exposure of two hours. He also placed on the screen three discs of the same kind of glass overlapping one another, so that the three thicknesses of the glass had to be traversed by the X rays before they reached the photographic plate. These discs form standards with which the action of the X rays on the discs covered with herapathite is compared. On the screen he also placed a square of yellow blotting paper $\frac{3}{4}$ mm. in thickness and covered with superimposed herapathite crystals from two to four layers deep. This screen covered a sensitive plate, and was exposed to the action of a Crooke's tube for three separate durations of exposure, in the first place for half an hour, in the second for one hour, and in the third for two hours and a half. In each experiment on developing the plates there was not the slightest trace of the presence of the herapathites. There was no mottling on the surfaces of the photographs of the glass discs, which were of uniform illumination and grain throughout, even when looked at through a magnifying glass. Thus it seems evident that the rays are incapable of being polarised.

Mr. W. L. Goodwin, of the School of Mining, Kingston, Canada, has been experimenting with the relative transparency or opacity of various substances to these rays. He describes as opaque the following solids: paraffin wax, wood, charcoal, coke (in part), asphalte, albertite, starch, the diamond. As fairly transparent: citric acid, jet, anthracite, amber, natrolite, caustic potash, caustic soda, borax, soda crystals. As somewhat transparent: silicified wood, Epsom salts, serpentine, staurolite, stilbite, lazulite, cryolite, Mohr's salt, analcite, borax glass, nitre, Rochelle salt. As somewhat opaque: mica, tourmaline, wulfenite, axinite, spinel, calcite, aragonite, kaolin. As opaque: roll sulphur, crystal of rhombic sulphur, fluor-spar, topaz, beryl, ruby quartz, chalcoppyrite, anhydrite, celestine, barite. Sulphuric acid is as opaque as the same thickness of sulphur. Water is even more opaque than paraffin wax. It has been suggested that the use of Röntgen's rays

may provide an efficient means of testing the genuineness of precious stones. Diamonds, for instance, can be distinguished by being transparent to the rays while rubies are characterised by their opacity.

The penetrative power of these rays through the human body was well evidenced in Professor Oliver Lodge's recent observation of the excitation of fluorescence by the rays after they had penetrated the bodies of two men clothed and standing one behind the other.

At a meeting of the Berlin Physiological Society, Dr. Frenzel showed photographs taken on bromide of silver paper with the X rays. A remarkable specimen was that of a frog taken on twelve sheets of the paper, laid one upon the other; the photograph was equally well defined on each sheet.

An interesting feature of the rays is that revealed by Professor J. J. Thomson. He has found that when the rays pass through any substance they make it for the time being a conductor of electricity, even though the substance is in its normal state a perfect insulator. This explains the fact that an electrified plate in air, or other medium, loses its charge when exposed to these rays whether the charge be positive or negative. This leakage seems due to the condition of the insulator rather than that of the plate, for it occurs when the plane of the electrified disc is parallel to the rays as well as when it is at right angles to them.

The following experience of Professor Thomson is remarkable: "The air through which these rays have passed retains traces of conductivity for some little time after the rays have ceased to pass through it. This can be shown by blowing the air, from a place where the rays are plentiful, against a charged disc placed where there are only a few rays; the rate of leak from this disc is much increased by the blast."

A large number of measurements of the rate of leak from positively and negatively electrified discs surrounded by air have been taken, and it has been found that the rate of leak in the two cases is almost identical. Measurements have also been taken of the rate of leak through air at different pressures, and it is found that the rate of leak is greater at a higher pressure than upon low pressure, and is, over a wide range of pressures, approximately proportioned to the square root of the pressures. The rate of leak is also greater in air than in hydrogen, being at atmospheric pressure about twice as great in air as it is in hydrogen, while the leakage through carbonic acid is faster than that in air. Professor Thomson thinks that this leakage of electricity through non-conductors is due to a kind of electrolysis, the molecule of the conductor being split up by the rays which act the part played by the solvent in ordinary electrolytic solutions. "If

the air through which the rays are passing is ionised, the number of ions would, according to the well-known law of dissociation, be proportioned to the square root of the pressure, provided the amount of ionisation is small. Thus the result we obtained for the rate of leak through air at different pressures, indicates that the rate of leak is proportional to the number of ions." It seems likely that measurements of the rate of leak from a disc charged to the fixed potential will afford a means of testing the efficiency of various patterns of Crooke's tubes or of the tubes at different periods. The tubes are subject to variations; they have, in fact, a life improving for some time after they are sealed off from the pump and attaining a maximum efficiency, after which they begin to deteriorate. Professor Thomson suspects that Röntgen's rays are not all of the same kind. He has taken measurements of the change of the rate of leak from an electrified disc, produced by changing the number of sheets of tinfoil interposed between the disc of the phosphorescent tube. When only a few sheets of tinfoil were interposed, the addition of another sheet of tinfoil produced a considerable diminution in the rate of leak; but when the phosphorescent bulb was a very good one a considerable leakage remained when a large number of sheets of tinfoil were interposed, and the residual leakage diminished but slowly as the number of sheets of tinfoil were increased. Thus, there appear to be some rays that are rapidly absorbed by the tinfoil, others seem to pass through it with comparative ease.

It has been found that when a Crooke's radiometer is exposed to the X rays, the action of the rotating vane is arrested. This effect has been discussed in a paper by Drs. A. Fontana and A. Umani. It appears that the action is merely electrostatical, and is due to the electrification of the glass globe containing the radiometer. If the globe is wetted, or electrification prevented by the interposition of a conducting sheet, the rays do not effect the rotation of the radiometer.

Many observers agree in the opinion that these rays can be produced without the use of a Crooke's tube. Some assert that the arc light gives out this kind of radiation. Lord Blythswood claims to have taken photographs of invisible objects four years ago without the use of a Crooke's tube, merely using the powerful discharge of a very powerful Wimshurst machine, having 128 plates 3 feet in diameter and driven by a powerful electromotor.

A curious experiment is that described by Mr. W. Saunders in a letter to *Nature*, February 6. Upon a piece of board he placed a sensitive plate; on this, a penny piece, with the obverse side downwards, and on the top of the penny piece a $\frac{3}{10}$ th-inch cedar board.

He then exposed the whole to the action of magnesium light. On developing there was a distinct image of the Queen's head.

Monsieur Lebon claims that the new photography can be accomplished by an ordinary paraffin lamp, and asserts that for years he has taken such photographs with this simple means. He proceeds as follows: Inside a box having thin sides he places a sensitised plate behind a negative. In front of the box he places an iron plate, and on the other side of the plate a lamp. After three hours' exposure an image is formed. On development, however, the image is indistinct, but if a sheet of lead is placed behind the box and folded over, to touch the iron plate so as to form a negative shell, the reproduction of the negative for the same length of exposure is quite distinct.

Mr. Henry Becquerel has discovered that the radiation from the double sulphate of uranyl and potassium affects a photographic plate through such substances as aluminium, copper and wood. Like Röntgen's rays it discharges an electrified body whether the charge be positive or negative. It is, however, unlike the X rays in that, like ordinary light, it can be refracted and polarised. It can also be more easily reflected than the X rays. These rays are also absorbed almost equally by aluminium and copper, so that it does not show the same dependence upon the atomic weight of the absorbing medium as the X rays. Thus we are confronted with a radiation intermediate in properties between the X rays and ordinary light. It would seem that this newly discovered radiation must consist of transverse vibrations.

It appears highly probable that the X rays are present in the solar radiation. In a recent number of the *English Mechanic* Dr. E. Packer mentions the interesting fact that metallic plates, foils and films, are relatively transparent to solar radiance of high refrangibility, and that photographic plates screened by such media during exposure to direct sunlight are affected in proportion to the thinness and electrical conductivity of the interposed screen. This discovery has been employed in photographing the solar corona, and satisfactory results are said to have been obtained.

The Supply of Sea-water to London.—The probable inadequacy in a very short time of the present water supply of London, is a fact which has already received the attention of our governing bodies; and a Royal Commission has lately dwelt on the scarcity which will have to be faced, while urging an extension of the present works, and a further intake from the rivers Thames and Lea. Our present water supply is put roughly at 200,000,000 gallons a day. By the completion of the works contemplated, it is thought the supply might be raised to 420,000,000 gallons a day, which might meet the wants of

London's growing population for another thirty-six years. All this water is filtered and made ready for domestic use, but 20 per cent. of it is used for non-domestic purposes. Here is an evident waste. As fresh water, with our growing population, becomes a more precious fluid, any practical scheme which could save the 40,000,000 gallons a day, used for municipal and other non-domestic purposes, and thereby increase the domestic supply by that extent per day, would be entitled to consideration. The Bill now deposited for supplying London with sea water, undertakes to efficiently replace the 40,000,000 gallons of fresh water now used for non-domestic purposes, by sea-water, and to bestow on Londoners various other advantages economical and sanitary. The scheme is not quite new. An Act, passing as an unopposed measure a few years ago, incorporated a company for supplying London with sea water; but the demand of hotels, parishes, &c., was so great, the directors found they had not prepared themselves with a sufficient authorised capital, and they allowed the powers granted by the Act to lapse. Now a wider scheme has been prepared, and if the Bill passes, as is hoped, by this June, at latest, we may have sea water in London by 1898.

The total cost is to be £450,000. The water is to be supplied by meter for public purposes, hospitals, &c, and also to householders: this is a boon which will be appreciated, and will probably prevent waste. The intake is to be opposite Lancing, between Brighton and Worthing, where the sea is supposed to be particularly free from sewage pollution. There will be only one pumping station at the settling tank at Lancing, a reservoir which is to have a capacity of 10,000,000 gallons, and whose bottom is to be 10 feet below high water. The water will be forced to a reservoir on Steyning Round-hill at nearly 500 feet above high water level, also with a capacity of 10,000,000 gallons. The water will flow by gravitation to a reservoir at Epsom, with the same capacity, and over 200 feet above high water level. It will then flow by gravitation to London, and it is claimed that it can be delivered at a pressure higher than that commanded by any of the water companies. The water will be carried the whole way in mains, which are to be 36 inches at the intake, reduced at Dorking to 32 inches, and from Epsom onwards and in the London mains to 30 inches. The design is to supply 10,000,000 gallons per day, and as the reservoirs at Steyning and Epsom will together contain two days' supply, the mains will always be full, which is supposed to be some mitigation to the metal of the injurious action of the sea-water: an alternation of wet and dry is considered still more trying. The mains form two complete circuits in London, and practically place almost every householder, at will, in easy connection

by means of service pipes. There will be hydrants in the streets for the supply of water carts, &c.

The use of sea-water for municipal purposes is new to Londoners, but it has been so used for some time by our seaports and coast towns; it is to their experience we must look to gauge its merits and demerits. Their evidence, obtained from them at various times since 1887, and treating of an experience, in some cases, of thirty-five years, was read before the Society of Arts in January of this year by Mr. F. W. Grierson, and is favourable. The only unfavourable report was from Hastings (1895); while an earlier report from that town (1885), was as distinctly favourable.

For flushing sewers there seems no evidence against the use of sea-water, while it is pointed out, its greater specific gravity and the larger quantities that could be used, should be advantageous. On the roads the action of salt may be described generally as negative; that is to say, it has not been found to destroy or injure them. There seems no evidence of its injuring granite or flint roads, while only two authorities were of opinion that it injured macadam by rendering it loose. It retards decomposition in wood-paving, and as sea-water keeps roads damper than fresh, it is, for wood and asphalte, superior to fresh water. It is this fact of the greater efficiency of sea-water watering that constitutes its own economical claim. There seems to be a consensus of opinion that one load of sea-water is as effective as two of fresh. The roads keep damp so very much longer: thus an immense saving ensues not only in water, but in wear and tear of carts, horse hire, &c.; and a consequent great reduction in municipal expenditure is borne witness to by numerous towns. The sea-water cakes the surface of roads, keeping down the dust, and glazing them; this glaze is visible to the eye. Tradespeople are pleased at the caking of the dust, while there seems to be very few complaints of tarnished goods or injury to dresses, boots, &c.

One disadvantage of the use of sea-water on roads has been pointed out: it is, that in the autumn, unless the glazed and caked dust is cleared away from the surface of macadamised roads, it becomes a damp slime. And it will have to be borne in mind that brine freezes at a lower temperature than water; so that in times of frost, we should have on our roads a liquid colder than water at the freezing point—inadvisable for the feet of men or animals. Mr. Grierson says, in this regard, that streets would not be watered in winter.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Hausaland and the Central Sudan.—The importance of the Hausas as a factor in the future of West Africa renders any fresh information respecting them a valuable addition to our knowledge. A people so numerous as to form 1 per cent. of the entire population of the globe, and with an aptitude for progress far beyond that of the races round them, who make good soldiers and keen traders, are well worthy of special study. The journey described in Mr. C. H. Robinson's volume ("Hausaland." London: Sampson Low & Marston, 1896) was undertaken with a view to the study of their language, a studentship for that purpose having been founded by the Hausa Association as a memorial of his brother who died whilst working as a missionary amongst them. As the hostility of the Tuaregs blocks the Sahara to European travellers, the river Niger furnishes the only route available to this part of the Sudan. The author accordingly, after following it to its junction with the Binue at Lokoja, and then ascending the latter stream as far as Loko, entered on a toilsome overland march of 350 miles, aggravated by even more than the usual difficulties with native carriers, to Kano the Hausa capital. The first important town reached was Zaria, called also Zozo, or Zegzeg, with a population of from 25,000 to 30,000. Within the ten mile circuit of its crumbling mud wall, is enclosed a considerable tract of cultivated land, bearing guinea corn, maize, and plantains. Its habitations consist of groups of huts, built of hardened mud and thatched with grass, standing in separate courtyards. The currency consists of cowries, of which 100,000 are worth about £3, of salt, and of slaves, sold for from 100,000 to 300,000 cowries each. Eight days' march through a thickly wooded country, which showed increasing signs of cultivation as the capital was approached, isolated farm-houses being seen during the last three days, brought the expedition to Kano, "the Manchester of Tropical Africa," as it was called by the author in an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Its mud rampart of from 20 to 40 feet in height and fifteen miles in circumference, resembles that of Zaria in enclosing a large area of cultivated land, but differs from it in being kept in excellent repair, forming a powerful bulwark against native attack. Here a dwelling was assigned to the travellers, consisting of two umbrella-roofed huts standing

in an acre of garden or court-yard, on the outskirts of the inhabited zone. The population of Kano is estimated by the author at 100,000, of which slaves probably constitute one half, it lies in a plain surrounded by low hills, at a level 1425 feet above the sea, about 1000 feet lower than Zaria.

Commercial Importance of Kano.—"London itself," says the author, "is probably not more generally known throughout the continent of Europe than Kano throughout an equal area in the Central Sudan," and its manufactures are to be met with from the Gulf of Guinea to the Mediterranean, and from the Atlantic to the Nile. It is the meeting-point of races and nationalities, Mecca pilgrims, Arab traders, Tuareg bandits of the Sahara, slave dealers from all parts of the Sudan, and in Monteil's opinion some two million people pass through it in the course of the year. Its importance is due to the industry of weaving, dyeing, and manufacturing cotton cloth, practised there on a large scale.

It would be well within the mark to say (says the author) that Kano clothes more than half the population of the Central Sudan, and any European who will take the trouble to ask for it will have no difficulty in purchasing Kano-made cloth in towns on the coast as widely separated from one another as Alexandria, Tripoli, Tunis, or Lagos.

The cloth is woven on narrow looms in strips no more than four or five inches wide, afterwards sewn together so neatly that it is difficult to detect the seams. It is generally dyed blue, indigo which grows wild in great abundance furnishing the colouring matter, but a scarlet dye is also used. Tanning leather, generally goat-skin, and its manufacture into saddlery, shoes and sandals, is another industry. The exported leather is usually dyed red. The import trade of Kano consists largely of kola nuts, which grow in the greatest perfection in the country to the back of the Gold Coast, and are diffused through the most remote districts of the Hausa States. This fruit, which is generally of a brick-red colour, is like a large chestnut, and grows in pods containing four to six nuts each. The stimulant properties it possesses, owing to its containing, in addition to tannin, an alkaloid analogous to theine and caféine, causes it to be eagerly sought for chewing, despite its bitter and disagreeable taste. During its long transit to its place of destination, it must be kept constantly damp, else it splits, wrinkles, and becomes as hard as wood. Its price naturally increases with the distance it has travelled, and the nut, purchaseable at Gandja for five cowries, is worth at Sokoto 100, at

Kano, 140 to 250, and at Kuka on Lake Tchad, 250 to 300. English salt, which radiates to a distance of 150 miles from the ports on the Niger and Binue, is superseded in the countries beyond that limit by the native article brought on camels from the southern Sahara, and sold for a shilling a pound. Buying and selling is scarcely ever carried on without the intervention of a broker, who receives 5 per cent. commission from the seller.

Routes to Kano.—The European goods sold in Kano come for the most part by the desert route from the Mediterranean. The caravans which arrive every year, bring an aggregate of 12,000 camel loads of copper articles, sugar, pepper, gunpowder, needles, turbans, burnouses, &c. The time occupied in traversing the 1800 miles from Tripoli to Kano varies from three to nine months. The direct route thence to Kano is closed to Europeans by the hostility of the Tuaregs, who had recently murdered some Arabs, suspected because of their light complexions of being foreigners in disguise. The road from Lake Tchad is rendered equally impassable by the conquests of Rabbah, a lieutenant of the Mahdi, who from Darfur has invaded and subjugated Wadai, Baghimi and Bornu. In this direction, north from Kano, the camel is the universal beast of burden, while horses and donkeys are the carriers of the trade with the south.

The Slave Trade in the Central Sudan.—Mr. Robinson considerably reduces the estimate of other travellers when he calculates that out of the fifteen millions of the Hausa-speaking population, at least one-third are slaves, and this amounts to saying that one out of every 300 individuals now alive is a Hausa slave. All the evils connected with the slave trade in the Eastern Sudan are here reproduced on a larger scale, and within the British sphere of influence. The bulk of the Hausa slaves are raided, not among strangers but among their neighbours and kinsmen, thus exposing the country perpetually to all the horrors of civil war. The attack is made in overwhelming numbers, and all who resist are massacred, while the rest are marched in fetters to the town of the raiders, there to be sold to dealers, or reserved for the payment of tribute. The author, during an overland march of 800 miles, came in many places on the track of these raids, while, during his stay of three months in Kano, about 1000 slaves were brought in as the prizes of similar expeditions. As regards the actual slaves, their condition must vary with

the disposition of their owners, but Mr. Robinson seems to think that the great mass are satisfied with their position, and have no ambition to escape from it.

Hausas and Fulahs.—The Hausa empire, or confederation, consists of two sovereign States, Sokoto and Gando, and nine others tributary to one or other of these. The rulers are in all of a different race from the subject population, and are variously called Fulah, Fulatah, and Fulani. Their origin is unknown, and they only appeared in the countries they now rule some two centuries ago, establishing themselves there in scattered communities. Their supremacy dates from the appearance among them of a religious leader, Sheikh Othman, who, in 1802, proclaimed a crusade of aggressive Mohammedanism on the pagan Hausas, with the result of leaving to his two sons, Mohammed Bello and Abdallah, the dual empire of Sokoto and Gando respectively. The Fulahs, although originally a pastoral people, and still owners of most of the cattle in the country, are also a race of warriors and skilled horsemen, while the Hausas are more commercial in their proclivities. The subject States not only pay a considerable annual tribute to Sokoto and Gando, but are also bound to furnish a contingent of troops in case of war.

Leprosy in the Sudan.—Dr. Tonkin, who accompanied Mr. Robinson's expedition, collected a number of details regarding the diffusion of leprosy, which is, according to him, extensively prevalent in the Central Sudan. In the smallest villages there were generally one or two cases, and the lepers of Kano, who were organised into a sort of guild under a "king," were said to number a thousand. The examination of about 220 cases led to the conclusion, contrary to that arrived at by the Indian Commission, that it is propagated by contagion, being often conveyed by a husband to a healthy wife, and contracted by residence among those affected. The idea that it is induced by fish diet also obtains here, the probability being that it is caused, not by eating sound fish, but that which is tainted or semi-decayed. The apparent anomaly of its comparative rarity in places where fresh fish is abundant would thus be accounted for. No precautions are taken in the Sudan to segregate the lepers, who may even be seen selling provisions in the public market.

Journey through the Interior of Siam.—Mr. J. S. Black, in a paper read at the Royal Geographical Society's meeting on April 27, gave an interesting account of a consular journey through Siam and the Valley of the Mekong, in the beginning of 1895. His route lay across the south-eastern provinces, through Chantaboon, Battambang, and Siemrap, thence northwards by the western side of the Mekong basin, up that river and across the north of Siam, returning by the rivers Meping and Menam to Bangkok. The distance traversed was over 2000 miles, and the time occupied about six months. At Chantaboon the French occupation has made little difference, as the troops are quartered outside the town. It is a little place of 4000 inhabitants, whose principal export is pepper, grown by the Chinese, who form a large element of the population. The riches of Battambang and Siemrap have, in the opinion of the lecturer, been much exaggerated, although they contain valuable ruby and sapphire mines now owned by a British company, and employing some 2000 Burmese British subjects. The Menong region, with a very scanty population of its own, is cut off from communication with the rest of the world by natural obstacles to free intercourse. The rapids of Chiengkan on the Mekong, despite their successful passage by a French gunboat, are described as ordinarily impracticable for navigation, the trade of the Valley is insignificant, and the river unlikely to become the dreamed-of highway to the trade of China. Monkeys and wild peacocks abound on its banks, and the whole of the interior of Siam swarms with game, the roar of the tiger sometimes [furnishing the camp with nocturnal music, and the tracks of elephants lying across the path. The last part of the journey by boat for 500 miles down the Menam from Chiengmai to Bangkok, was in some respects its most interesting portion, for this is the richest and most populous region of Siam, and an exciting episode was furnished by the descent of the rapids on the upper part of the river, where it passes through the wildest and most picturesque scenery.

British Rule in the Malay States.—Mr. Swettenham, Resident-General of the Protected Malay States, in an interesting lecture at the Imperial Institute on March 31, described the results of British administration among the people of the Malay Protectorate. Three classes of natives have there to be dealt with, the Malay chiefs, their hereditary subjects, and the Chinese immigrants. In every State which has received a British resident, slavery and forced labour were things of the past; equal justice has been secured to all by the creation

of tribunals presided over by a trustworthy magistracy, and the lives and property of the people are as safe as in any part of her Majesty's dominions. Hospitals, prisons, police have all been efficiently organised, and a regiment of trained and disciplined Indian troops forms a force capable of taking the field when required, and obviating the use of British troops. The revenue of the States had almost exactly doubled at each interval of five years between 1874 and 1894, having risen during that period from less than half a million to $7\frac{1}{2}$ million dollars. Through a country that twenty years ago was covered with dense jungle, 200 miles of railway, 2000 miles of road, and 1000 miles of telegraph have been carried, while the lines are admirably constructed and yet give higher returns on the capital expended than any railways in the world. To the Civil Service organised under British influence is due the credit for these results, attained with the greatest possible economy. The trade of the Protected States amounts to 60 million dollars a year; and last, not least, a beneficent revolution has been effected in the condition of the people themselves, who are declared to be "freer, healthier, wealthier, more independent, more enlightened, happier by far than when we went to them."

Cedar Forests in British Central Africa.—A move has been made by Sir H. H. Johnston, Commissioner in British Central Africa, to secure the preservation of the extensive cedar forests on Mount Mlanje, in the south-eastern corner of the British territory, by declaring the entire of its mass Crown property. One plateau, covered with a dense growth of cedar trees, covers an area of 700 to 800 acres, while an aggregate of some 300 acres are under similar forest in other places. Allowing 150 trees to the acre, this gives the number of full-grown trees as 150,000, with an average of 40 cubic feet of timber each. Their total value at the present price of 3s. per foot is reckoned at £9,000,000, but double that price ought, it is thought, to be realised. The tree, if not preserved by legislation, would probably have been extinct in five or six years; but measures are now being taken to supply by replanting the waste from cutting or decay.

Chinese Colonisation in Manchuria.—Captain Frank Young-husband, in his recently-published book "The Heart of a Continent," (John Murray. 1896), gives an interesting account of the gradual colonisation of Manchuria by Chinese immigrants, the overflow of the densely populated or famine-stricken districts of China, who are doing

exactly the same work as the English colonists in the backwoods of Canada or North America—clearing the forest, and bringing in year by year larger areas under cultivation. Unwearied in toil they rise at daybreak, and after a good meal, work for hours at the task of uprooting the stumps of the trees they have felled, or preparing the land for crops. Strong, hard men, with enormous appetites, they eat out of bowls vast quantities of millet porridge, vegetable stews, and soups, and live in comfortable, well-built houses, with solid, heavy roofs. The Tartar inhabitants, the men of the Eight Banners, an unprogressive population, have been, to a large extent, drafted off to garrison the towns of China.

Catholic Missionaries among the Tartars.—Captain Young-husband is enthusiastic in his admiration of the lives and work of the Catholic missionaries, two of whose stations in Manchuria were visited by him in the course of his journey in 1886. The French priests, Pères Raguit, Card, and Riffard, made a deep impression on him, and he declared them to be “types of all that is best in man,” carrying about with them an atmosphere of pure, genuine goodness which makes itself felt at once. He was particularly struck with the devotion of their entire lives to their task, and with the sacrifice of all hope of return to home or country. Even if they did not make many converts, they could not fail, he said, to do good, as no one, whether Chinaman or European, could be in contact with them for five minutes without feeling the better for it. He deviated from his route in order to visit the missionary headquarters in the heart of Manchuria, where he was received by Pères Litot and Maviel, who introduced him to the bishop, “a noble-looking, kindly gentleman, who had lived thirty years in the country, and has since died there.” Here he was much impressed by the fact that the whole village was Christian, and that its inhabitants, “under the kindly, genial influence of these good priests, seemed like a different race from the cold, hard Chinamen around them.”

Journey of Prince Henry of Orleans.—The journey of Prince Henry of Orleans in 1895, from the valley of the Red River to that of the Brahmaputra, covered a distance of 2100 miles, of which 1600 was through absolutely unexplored country. No fewer than seventeen ranges of mountains were crossed, at altitudes of from 12,000 to 13,000 feet, and as mules were found of no use beyond the Salween, 26 Tibetan coolies, 16 of them Christian converts, supplied the entire

transport for the remainder of the way, and had their endurance taxed to the utmost. During the exploration of the country between the Salween and the Khamti hills, in the months of October and November, was made the discovery of the sources of the Irrawaddy, which renders the journey geographically memorable. Previous knowledge of that stream was limited to its course below the confluence of the two main branches which compose it—the Nmai Kha and the Mali Kha, signifying Eastern and Western respectively. The origin and relative importance of these two affluents were alike unknown, until the French traveller, after crossing eleven streams, found the Tuorong, or eastern branch, to be the largest and longest, and its source to be situated about 30 miles north of the 28th degree of latitude, and in longitude 99. The Tuorong receives several tributaries, while the Mali Kha is made up of small streams, some mere torrents, with very short courses. These streams drain the Khamti country, and have their sources in the northern districts of Burma, which are separated from the Tibetan drainage system by a high watershed. The last stage of the journey from Khamti to Assam was in some respects the most trying, as supplies were so scarce that starvation sometimes seemed imminent. Sadiya, in Upper Assam, was however safely reached on Christmas Eve, one coolie only having been lost in the snow, while the others showed plainly the effect of the hardships they had undergone.

Notices of Books.

Robinet de Plas. Par l'Abbé PROFILLET. Paris: Téqui. 1895.

THE life of the brilliant officer of the French Navy who, after attaining high distinction in his professional career, retired from the world to end his days as a saintly Jesuit, forms here the substance of a volume as edifying as it is interesting. Born in 1809 in the old manor house of Puycheni in Auvergne, François Robinet de Plas, though brought up by Christian parents, resembled too many of his countrymen in abandoning all practices of religion for twenty-five years after making his first Communion. The faith thus early lost was only recovered after a long and painful struggle, but when, after years of doubt and hesitation, he at length returned to the Church of his baptism, he made rapid advances in sanctity. During the remaining twenty-four years of his active service his work was that of an apostle among his shipmates, and his sole desire was to make reparation for the scandal he had formerly given. Entering the Jesuit noviciate when just sixty, his humility and application in following the classes were no less remarkable than his zeal and fervour after his ordination. The interest of his life is enhanced by its connection with the great public events of his time, including the establishment and overthrow of the Second Empire, the Crimean War, the Mexican Expedition, and the successive sieges of Paris by the Prussians and Communards. The abbé's style does full justice to his material, and he gives of all the events treated of sufficient detail for interest without prolixity.

The New Mission Book of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder.

THE compiler of this little volume, which we welcome from America, is evidently a Redemptorist. The instructions and prayers which fill his manual are drawn chiefly from the works of St. Alphonsus, and are expressly adapted to preserve the fruits of missions preached by his faithful and zealous sons. It is of a handy size, and neatly printed and bound.

The Hidden Treasure ; or, the Value and Excellence of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. By ST. LEONARD of Port Maurice, O.S.F. New translation by FR. JARLATH PRENDERGAST, O.S.F. Dublin : James Duffy & Co.

TWO versions of this well-known treatise on the Mass existed in our language before Father Prendergast undertook his translation. But both versions seemed to the editor of this translation to sin in the matter of unreadableness. The English was slipshod, and sometimes fell short of the expressiveness of the original. A graver defect made the previous translations unpalatable reading to those who have an innate respect based on gratitude for the priesthood. Some pages were allowed to pass into the English version which needlessly reflected on the conduct of certain priests in other times and climes. These pages have been omitted in Fr. Jarlath's book, which has been diligently compared with the Italian of St. Leonard, and rendered into clear and idiomatic English. Much good would accrue to souls and much glory to God, if the sublime teachings of "The Hidden Treasure" were better known, studied and applied. Devotions increase, and varieties of services crowd one another out, but what we seem to want to-day is a higher and more practical appreciation of the value of a Low Mass. If the words of the great Missioner of the Eighteenth century were taken to heart by the rising generation, the attendance at week-day Mass would quickly run up, and daily work and home life would be more immediately subjected to cleansing and ennobling influences. Who will start a new religious organisation and inaugurate, under ecclesiastical sanction, a Daily Mass League for men? This little book, which is beautifully printed and tastefully bound, should, with Cardinal Vaughan's manual, "The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass," lead many hearts earnestly to weigh the pregnant words of the old Austin Canon :

"If this most holy sacrament were celebrated in only one place, and consecrated only by one priest in the world, with how great longing thinkest thou would men be affected towards that place and to such a priest of God, that they might see the divine mysteries celebrated !"

G. H.

Le Maréchal de Ségur (1724-1801). Ministre de la Guerre sous Louis XVI. Par LE COMTE DE SÉGUR. Paris : Librairie Plon. 1895.

THE life of le Maréchal de Ségur is a valuable contribution to French history, and, if the author has occasionally wandered from his subject in illustrating it, readers who are not thoroughly

versed in the history of France will thereby be the gainers. Philippe-Henri de Ségur was the son of a distinguished officer, who had become a colonel at the age of seventeen, and he himself was made a colonel at nineteen ; but it is only fair to add that both father and son had shown great courage in battle before this honour was conferred upon them. The subject of this biography saw a great deal of active service in early life, and he was present at the sieges of Linz and Prague during his teens. When he was twenty-two he greatly distinguished himself at the battle of Rocoux, at which he was very severely wounded. On that day his mother was sitting quite wide awake, in an arm-chair beside a folding-screen, when she suddenly thought she saw the head and neck of her son all covered with blood depicted upon it. The next day she received the news that, at the very hour of the apparition, a bullet had entered his chest. In less than a year he was again terribly wounded, this time in the arm, at the battle of Lowfelt, and on this occasion, also, the event is said to have been signified supernaturally to one of his relatives. His favourite twin-sister, who became Abbess of Trénel, was occupied with some of her conventual duties, when she was suddenly seized by a very violent pain in her left arm, and crying out "My brother is wounded !" she lost consciousness. A few days later a courier brought the news that on that very day and at that very hour her brother had been struck by a cannon-ball on the left arm and seriously injured.

At the age of twenty-five, de Ségur married an heiress of sixteen, and, a couple of years later, his father, under whom he had frequently served in war, died of anthrax. For some time afterwards the future Marshal's public life was comparatively uneventful ; but two important private incidents were the births of his sons, one of whom was destined to become French Ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg, the other an author and a poet. In 1755 "*les perpétuelles déprédations commises par les Anglais,*" on the French ships and colonies, exhausted the patience of Louis XV., and de Ségur, with de Castries as his chief, was sent to defend Corsica from those "*éternels adversaires de la France.*" Little, however, came of the expedition. In another year or two began a much more serious affair, the Seven Years' War, and in the course of it, at the battle of Clostercamp, de Ségur was wounded for the third time, and for the first time taken prisoner. De Castries, however, effected an exchange of prisoners, and in the following year de Ségur was present at several engagements with the army of the Lower Rhine.

Soon after the peace de Ségur was made Governor of Burgundy, and he never again saw active service. When he was fifty-four his

wife died. The chief consoler of her latter days seems to have been Voltaire. "The fanatics are down," she said to him. "They can do no more harm; their reign is at an end!" and she recommended him, as their conqueror, to be generous to the vanquished. Voltaire disagreed with her. "These fanatics, these hypocrites," he answered, "are savage dogs; they are muzzled, but they still have teeth." And he declared with excitement that those teeth must be extracted. The "enthousiasme ressemblant à la superstition," felt by his admirers for Voltaire, was so intense that when he advised the Marquise de Ségur to try a diet consisting of the yolk of eggs and potatoes, a bystander "fixa sur moi son œil ardent, et, me pressant vivement le bras, me dit avec un cri d'admiration: 'Quel homme! quel homme! pas un mot sans un trait.'"

De Ségur was about sixty-six when, after fierce opposition from his enemies, he was appointed Minister of War to Louis XVI., his old friend, de Castries, at the same time being made Minister of Marine. "Notre éternelle rivale," England, again became troublesome, in America, and the war against her in that country was carried on under the administration of de Ségur. He held his office for nearly seven years, which were spent, not only in opposing foreign foes, but also in one long battle against the efforts of courtiers and other influential people to obtain lucrative military appointments for unworthy candidates. Even the Queen, with whom he was a special favourite, found him inflexible on this point. While he held the portfolio of War he was remarkable for his sternness towards officers of high position and for the consideration which he showed for common soldiers; and he mitigated the severity of the corporal punishment then prevailing in the French army. A great change took place in the position of the Ministers to the Crown, with the accession to power of the Archbishop of Toulouse; although not in name, in fact he was Prime Minister, and both de Ségur and de Castries resigned their portfolios rather than submit themselves to his domination. This was about the year 1787, when de Ségur was of the age of sixty-three. A couple of years later the French Revolution opened with the destruction of the Bastille. During the preceding troubles the Queen had often sent for de Ségur, and she had consulted him in almost every fresh difficulty. During the Reign of Terror, when nearly seventy years old and a martyr to the gout, de Ségur was incarcerated in the horrible prison of La Force. On his release he was reduced to great poverty, and could do nothing to earn a livelihood. His sons supported themselves by writing, and probably they gave him some help. An even greater grief than his imprisonment was the enrolment of one of his grandsons in the army of the Republic which was so odious to him.

It had been through the instrumentality of de Ségur that the great Napoleon was enabled to enter the French army, and an interesting correspondence between Napoleon's father and de Ségur, respecting a difficulty in connection with it, is given in these pages. After he had come into power Napoleon received de Ségur in audience at the Tuileries, and also gave him a pension; but this the old Marshal did not long enjoy; for, wonderful as had been his power of recovering from dangerous wounds inflicted in battle, he could not cope with the more prosaic attacks of the gout, to which he fell a victim in the second year of the present century.

Columbian Sketches. By RUDYARD KIPPLING. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1895.

THE results of a holiday tour in Canada and the United States are embodied in this brightly written volume, which, we gather from the preface, first appeared serially in the *Belfast Morning News*. The author, while making no pretension to exhaustive treatment of so vast a subject, has brought to bear on it a vivid power of observation, seeing and noting much that has escaped other travellers. His impressions of things often described before are thus fresh and original, and enable us to realise the scenes he has been through better than many more elaborate disquisitions on them. Travelling too, as a private individual without special introductions, he is untrammelled by those obligations of hospitality which compel the official tourist to see everything through rose-coloured spectacles. His chapter on Religious Tolerance under the Stars and Stripes contains, for instance, information new to us, and we in this country scarcely realise the existence in America of such bigotry and sectarian hatred as are embodied in the American Protestant Association described by him, and claiming a muster-roll of 6,000,000, of whom 40,000 are supplied by New Jersey alone. These figures seem so incredible that we should like to have them verified on some other authority before accepting them as absolutely authentic.

Wrecked and Saved. By Mrs. PARSONS. London: Burns & Oates. [Undated.]

NO more charming book could be put into a child's hands than this tale of a boy's struggles and trials. Young and old readers alike may follow with interest the story of his early life, from the hour

when he is cast upon the beach, the infant survivor of a shipwreck, to the trial for murder, which is the climax of his fate. Under the shadow of the grievous tribulation that befalls him his faith never fails, yet we are made to feel that his resignation is the result of no effortless self-conquest, but of a hard-won victory over nature.

Rosalind. The Story of Three Parrots. By EMILY MARION HARRIS. London: George Redway. 1895.

THE ingenious device by which three feathered travellers are made to narrate their experiences to the little heroine of this pretty volume, will, we are sure, commend itself to juvenile readers. The gift of intelligent speech, belief in which as a possible attribute of the animal creation recurs in the mythology of all primitive peoples, could nowhere be more appropriately bestowed than on those strange creatures who mimic our utterance so closely, and often with such seeming intuition of its purpose. The tales of Rosalind's three friends show them to have been also shrewd observers of character, and the adventures of "Apollo," "Polydore," and "Paula," have human interests interwoven with their autobiographical details.

The Religion of the Romans. By FRANK GRANGER, D.Lit., Professor in University College, Nottingham. London: Methuen & Co., 36 Essex Street, Strand, London. 1895. Pp. 313.

MR. GRANGER endeavours to put before us the attitude of the pagan Roman mind towards the preternatural. Our author is a lover of ghost stories. The following ghost story, which is taken from Pliny, is worth quoting at length:

There was a large mansion at Athens which was notorious for its unhealthiness. When all was quiet at night noises as of iron were heard, and, if you listened carefully, rattling of chains seemed to come gradually near. Then the ghost appeared! an old man, wasted and squalid, with long flowing beard and towzled hair. He had fetters on his ankles and chains on his wrists, and kept shaking them. The house was deserted, and left entirely to the occupancy of the ghost, *illi monstro relicta*. It was advertised to be sold or to let, if any one should be willing to take it. The philosopher Athenodorus comes to Athens, reads the placard. The low figure leads him to make inquiries. The information he receives not only fails to scare him, but rather stimulates him to take the house. When night began to fall, he gave orders that his couch should be set in the front part of the house, and calls for writing materials and a light. He dismisses all the attendants to the interior of the building, and began to write, so that his attention should leave no room for empty imaginings. At first all was quiet. The iron rattles, chains are moved about. He

kept his eyes fixed on his tablets without raising his stile, and stiffened his mind to control his hearing. The noise became more frequent, approached; seemed to be on the threshold, and now to have passed it. He looks up. He sees and recognises the phantom described to him. It stood and made a gesture as though it summoned him. The philosopher, with a coolness for which, unfortunately, he himself was the only evidence, motioned to the ghost to wait a moment, and began writing again. The ghost replied by rattling his fetters over the writer's head. He looks up, and finding the same gesture made, takes the lamp at once and follows the phantom, which went with a slow step as though dragged down by the irons. It moved into the courtyard of the house, and suddenly faded away, leaving the philosopher alone, who marked the place of its disappearance by making a small heap of leaves. On the next day he went to the magistrates and suggests that the spot should be dug up. A skeleton is found in fetters, and is buried in due course at the public expense. After this had been done, and the shade was laid to rest, the house ceased to be haunted.

Mr. Granger's book will be useful to students of Latin literature, and interesting to all lovers of folk-lore.

A History of the Somerset Carthusians. By E. MARGARET THOMPSON, with Illustrations by L. BEATRICE THOMPSON. London: John Hodges. 1895.

AMONG the English shires, Somerset alone was honoured by having in its midst two communities of Carthusian monks. Of the nine charterhouses of the old English Church, Witham, the first foundation of the Order in this realm, and Hinton the second, stood within a few miles of one another in the north-eastern corner of the county. These two houses have found a sympathetic chronicler in Miss Margaret Thompson, and an artistic delineator of their scanty remains in Miss Beatrice Thompson, her sister. But when all is told of which we can have present knowledge, there is not much to attract or interest the general reader in the slender records of these silent houses of prayer and contemplation. For the cloisters of St. Bruno's family were not like those of the Black Benedictines, the scene of active influence and intellectual labour for the benefit of Church and world, nor yet like the homes of the white-robed Cistercians, the centre of busy rustic labour and munificent almsgiving to the whole country-side; on the contrary, they were, and were meant to be, solitudes, deserts, where the soul could dwell on the eternal truths unhampered by contact with the world. The story of the wholesale evictions which were deemed necessary to render Witham sufficiently solitary for its saintly colonists from the famous mother-house in Savoy, reads like some chapter in contemporary history recording the scattering of crofters and the waste-

laying of their kail-yards to extend the deer forest of some Radical millionaire. But St. Hugh, the third prior of Witham, wiser in his generation than some in ours, who make a solitude and call it peace, refused to enter into possession of the place till fair compensation had been made to all who left their holdings at the royal command to make way for the monks. The subsequent history of Witham is singularly uninteresting even for a Carthusian house. If any reader entertain the hope that a community, ennobled by the long government and life-long care of St. Hugh of Lincoln, would prove through succeeding ages a beacon of light and leading to the Church, that hope will find little to feed upon in the pages of Miss Thompson's volume. The monks of Witham were hidden with Christ in God; their prayers and intercessions have left no mark on history. Hinton, a foundation of less distinction, in its earlier days seems to have occupied a higher place in public estimation in later times; it gave the first prior to the London Charterhouse (1371), and was the house chosen by that famous politician, ambassador, and scholar, Dr. Batmanson, when he withdrew from the world to combat the pestilential publications of Erasmus and to prepare himself for eternity. Hinton, too, was the home of the only Carthusian who figures in Shakespeare, the famous Dan Nicholas Hopkyns, a seer of strange visions and a prophesier of vain conceits, led on by whose mystic sayings the unfortunate Duke of Buckingham, his devoted penitent, was brought at last to the scaffold.

Miss Thompson's work will, we hope, interest many readers in an Order once more established amongst us; we trust, moreover, that the other Carthusian monasteries, offshoots of Witham and Hinton, will not be long in finding historians as careful and painstaking as the lady who has given us this very acceptable volume. One slight correction seems desirable. At p. 191, Fr. Williams, who died at Little Malvern Court, June 2, 1797, is spoken of as the last of the English Carthusians. This sad distinction seems to belong rather to Dan James B. Finch, who died at Ferryhalgh, near Preston, on March 3, 1821, æt. 72.

Vie Mortelle du Christ vengée des Attaques de feu Renan, &c. Par L'ABBÉ BOUCHET DE BARBUTS. Paris: P. Téqui. 1895.

AS a book for spiritual reading, the "Vie Mortelle" may be warmly recommended; it maintains throughout a spirit of deep and earnest piety, and its doctrine is above all suspicion or reproach. The narrative is vivid; the style is smooth, transparent,

and not ungraceful. In spite of the second part of the title, which leads one to expect the fierce noise of controversy, the voice of criticism sounds remote and faint; in fact, even the few words that are heard are the words of a criticism in its death-agony. We think it might safely have been left to its natural dissolution. On the other hand, the more serious questions of present-day criticism are practically unmentioned.

We were deeply interested in one passage of the narrative, because of the side-light it throws on a most suggestive critical conjecture. It occurs in the account of our Lord's appearance to Magdalen after His resurrection.

Jésus lui dit: *Noli me tangere*. . . . C'en est assez, vous m'avez suffisamment touché. . . . Je suis affranchi de la vie de la douleur et de la corruption. J'ai acquis une sorte de spiritualité. La matière avec ses épaisseurs et son opacité ne m'embrasse plus, &c., &c.

In modern books we are clearly warned by a system of punctuation and inverted commas not to confuse text with comment; but what would have happened to a reader in a remote age when inverted commas were unknown? Certainly St. Jerome, in his preface to the Book of Esther, says:

Quem librum editio vulgata, laciniosis hinc inde verborum sinibus trahit, addens ea quæ ex tempore dici poterant, et audiri; sicut solitum, est scholaribus disciplinis, sumpto themate, excogitare quibus verbis uti potuit qui injuriam passus est, vel qui injuriam fecit.

J. M. I.

Notes on the Nebular Theory. By WILLIAM FORD STANLEY, F.R.A.S., F.G.S., &c. &c. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. (Ltd.)

SPECULATIVE cosmogony seems to have a great attraction for some minds: we do not ourselves feel that attraction to any great extent; the data are so uncertain, the conditions in which matter existed at the vastly distant period of time, to which cosmogony carries us back, are so completely unknown to us, that we doubt whether much scientific advantage is gained by such speculations. But we speak only of the earliest dawn of cosmogony, the theories dealing with the first process of formations of the heavenly bodies, not with their subsequent history, on which modern astronomy, with the aid of the spectroscope, has thrown a marvellous light, and which is full of interest.

The work before us is highly speculative, so much so that some of the separate papers intended for communication to the learned

societies, in which form the author originally wrote it, were (as he tells us in his Preface) considered by "orthodox authorities" *too speculative* for that purpose.

The theory of world-formation known amongst astronomers as the Nebular hypothesis is associated with the great name of Laplace; he was not the first to suggest the idea that the Sun and Planets were formed from nebulous matter, which in one shape or another had occurred to other philosophers; but he seems to have worked his hypothesis independently, differing from his predecessors in several important details. He deals merely with the solar system; and his theory (as some of our readers may be aware) is briefly this—he supposes a cloud of intensely heated gas, which he calls a nebula; this nebula, enormous of course in size, assumed a globular form under the action of its own gravitation, and with a rotation round an axis; as it rotated, it became considerably flattened at its poles, and gradually spread itself out into something like a vast wheel. This wheel-shaped mass of attenuated matter revolved with the same angular velocity throughout, and so it came to pass that the outer part of it detached itself in the form of a huge ring, and this at length eventually became condensed and so formed a planet. The planet again (which had now acquired a movement of rotation on its own axis) might itself, by the same process on a smaller scale, become a centre with rings surrounding it, which might either as in the case of the planet Saturn remain as rings, or condense into satellites. At the same time inner planets were formed round the Sun, with or without satellities, in the same way as the outer one had been; and thus the whole Solar system came into being. Such in brief outline is the theory, the symmetry and beauty of which have thrown a spell of fascination on many astronomers. It seems to account for so much that we find in existence, even to account for it all too well, as some would say. But is it true? There are objections to it; one very palpable objection to the idea of the whole vast nebulous matter revolving throughout with the same angular velocity; this is not only highly improbable but in our humble judgment physically impossible. There are also other difficulties: and it is to be noted that the existing nebulae, of which there are several in the heavens visible through a telescope (though only one perceptible by the naked eye) do not lend much support to the theory; no one of them, so far as we know, has assumed the form of a revolving *spheroid*; some are spherical in shape, some spiral, and others (we fancy the greater part of them) irregular in shape. This of course is not a conclusive argument, but must only be taken for what it is worth—namely, that the

modern nebulae do not appear to be behaving like that most ancient one, imagined by La Place, and therefore give no evidence in favour of his hypothesis. But certain modifications have been suggested of La Place's theory, and the author of the work before us does not bind himself to it rigidly. In fact he is far more ambitious in his speculations than the great French astronomer; for he attempts to account for the formation of the stellar universe generally.

He supposes space to have been filled with a kind of gaseous matter in a highly attenuated condition, to which he gives the name of *pneuma*: it may have been composed of any or all of the chemical elements, it would also be "transparent and not be visible in any form except when undergoing chemical combination or in condensation to form the visible nebula." The *pneuma* he considers to have been composed of infinitely minute units, which he terms *pneumites*, much smaller than chemical atoms, probably not more than $\frac{1}{100000}$ of the diameter of an atom. He goes at some length into the constitution of these *pneumites*. We extract one or two paragraphs as specimens of our author's style:

The centre of the *pneumite* may be in one sense a universal form of gravitative matter (*gravite*), or this may be an element of it, upon which alone the amount of gravitation and cohesion depends, while still possessing other affinities.

We hope our readers understand this sentence better than we profess to do ourselves. Again he says:

Upon the data just proposed, if we assume that our solar *pneuma* system originally extended to the primitive radius of other star systems then in condensation, we may imagine the synchronism of rates of vibration of certain classes of dissociated elements or *pneumites* would, by equal unity or multiple unity of vibrational period, promote association in groups to form what we recognise as the chemical atom, which may be compared roughly to a chord in music in relation to its separate notes.

We ought to explain also that he assumes the *pneumite* "to be the prime mover of light vibrations, which may be communicated through ether or otherwise to a distance." When grounds of *pneumites* have been formed into atoms, it seems that they are then in a condition to form a nebula; for the *pneuma* system condenses into the nebular one, through radiation of heat. Then a further condensation of the interior of the nebula may take place to form a central gravitation system or Sun. We hope we do not in any way misrepresent the author, but his style, which is none of the clearest, bewilders us. It will of course be understood that all these [nebulae, as they condense, revolve round an axis; and as

soon as a central mass is formed, the law of gravitation comes into force, attracting all the particles of the nebula to the centre. But how is this central mass formed in the first instance? We presume by condensation, which would take place more readily in the neighbourhood of the centre than in the outer portions of the nebula, where the particles would have a tendency to fly off on a tangent.

Mr. Stanley's treatment of the Milky Way seems to have been suggested by the work of Thomas Wright of Durham, published in 1750, one of the earliest writers on cosmogony.

We may assume [our author says] that the whole system of the Milky Way formed an immense *pneuma* moving in slow rotation, the volume of which included the original places of the matter which surrounded and formed all the Stars of the System.

This enormous *pneuma* would have a tendency to separate into detached systems, commencing from the exterior, and forming at first *nebulae*, and then stellar systems. But as the Milky Way is not apparently symmetrical in form, but "an immense bifurcating plane of great depth, formed of stars unequally distributed," Mr. Stanley imagines that two spheroidal systems of great volume may at an early period have drifted together. "Such a collision as would be produced at the meeting-surface would form a relatively superior density plane, where the matter of the two systems would be united." Again, "If the two parts did not entirely combine, a bifurcating system might be formed." He goes on to discuss the formation of spiral *nebulae* and stellar systems; but we need hardly observe that his theories are of a highly imaginative character.

The formation of the System to which our own Earth belongs is discussed at considerable length; conjectures being hazarded as to the size and depth of the great nebulous rings, existing in those remote ages when the Earth had been formed, but Venus and Mercury had not been so; it is supposed that such an interior ring, circulating between the still nebulous sun and the newly-framed earth, would in great measure interrupt the heat of the sun, and produce severe cold at the terrestrial poles; later on, when Venus was formed, but was still in a very heated state (and much larger in volume than is now the case), there would be periods of heat whenever the planet was in inferior conjunction. Our author imagines formidable periods of time for some of these changes, which he considers as being contemporary with the great geological periods, Devonian, Carboniferous and others. A critic in a scientific paper has remarked, that

The author toys with millions of years in a manner which possibly

amused himself, but which can scarcely be edifying to the serious student.

We fear that there is some truth in this criticism: for instance, Mr. Stanley assumes the Devonian period in Great Britain to have lasted about 60 millions of years; and the Carboniferous period about 306 millions; and finally the Cretaceous and Tertiary periods (combined) 532 millions of years. He does not omit the vexed question of the Glacial condition, which prevailed at one time over a great part of Northern Europe and North America; and he attributes it chiefly (though not entirely) to the diminishing of the effective radiation of the sun for a period probable, "by clouding in the condensation of nebular matter at its critical temperature." He considers that the effect of the change of eccentricity in the earth's orbit—(Dr. Croll's favourite hypothesis)—and that of variations in the obliquity of the ecliptic, have probably been in some cases much exaggerated; and here we have the pleasure of agreeing with him, at any rate as regards the first of the two causes named; as regards the other, we are not aware that any very great stress has been laid on its importance; indeed, the fact of any great variation of obliquity is more than doubtful. Mr. Stanley does not go to any extent into mathematical calculations; where he does so we are not always able to follow him, as for instance in his attempt to calculate the density of the nebular planet-rings, out of which the earth and the other members of the solar system were formed (pp. 81 and 82).

The chapter on comets (chapter IX.) is perhaps the best in the book—supposing a universal pneuma, "motive in rotation, separating and condensing into separate systems"—at some distance between our sun and a near star, there "may have been many millions of local rotatory systems of matter, condensed to a nebular condition in a free state," which would move "sunward by central attraction;" these may be considered as comets; some might fall into the nebulous sun, and others, as we now see them, become permanent members of our system.

We trust we have not omitted any of the more important portions of Mr. Stanley's theories: if so, we must plead in our defence the difficulty of understanding his meaning. We do not, however, pretend to explain all his geological details, the formation of continents on the earth, the distribution of land areas, the accumulation of ice-cups at the poles, and other matters; into these he goes at some length. We may observe that he differs from Professor George Darwin and other very able modern astronomers in refusing to accept the opinion that the earth formerly rotated with much

greater velocity than it at present does, and that the velocity has been gradually reduced by the effects of tidal friction.

We give him credit for much reading and laborious research ; but the study of his work demands as a condition a great interest in cosmogony, and moreover a considerable stock of patience. We confess that our own patience has been somewhat strained by the perusal of it. Scientific men, as a general rule, even when advocating mistaken theories and advancing false or unfounded opinions, do at least express themselves in clear and intelligible language. The style of this author on the contrary is painfully obscure ; we have given one or two specimens of it, and could have added more if we had been so disposed. If the work should ever reach a second edition we respectfully counsel him to revise it carefully, and to recast some of the more difficult and least intelligible passages ; and (if we may venture so far) also to reconsider some of the opinions to which we have alluded. There must surely be some limit to the accumulated millions of years allotted to geological epochs ; and we believe that the tendency of the best writers on geology at the present day is rather to curtail than to enlarge them.

With regard to the main question raised by this work, as also by other treatises dealing with the nebular hypothesis, modern astronomy teaches us that the stars, once supposed to be *fixed*, are many of them, and perhaps all of them, in motion ; and if they were formed by condensation from nebulae, which we do not presume to deny (uncertain though it may be), their motions are probably the result of the rotatory movements of the nebulae of which they are the offspring. But how such rotation of the nebulous masses originated is unknown to us ; and the further question of the remote condition of matter from which the nebulae themselves were formed is a mystery not easily to be solved. Authors like the present one may indulge in imaginary suppositions to any extent that pleases them ; it may, however, be doubted whether science gains any solid advantage by their so doing.

L'Histoire de Jehanne. By Mme. LA Ctesse. SERRURIER. (Cr. 8vo, xiv.-300). Paris: P. Téqui, Rue du Cherche Midi.

IT is rare, and even difficult, to find originality in French stories which are free from any unsuitableness or suggestiveness. "Le Roman de Jehanne" does not differ from other books of the same class in this respect ; but it possesses a certain quiet charm, for the language is pure and the style simple.

It is the somewhat hackneyed story of a charming orphan left in the charge of a wealthy stepmother, who not unnaturally, perhaps, prefers her own handsome if rather plebeian daughter Berthe to the lovely, refined and distinguished Jehanne, who is to be kept carefully in the background till Berthe shall be married. For a great part of the book the scene is laid in Brittany, and the descriptions of scenery and life are charming, while the account of Jehanne's visit to the well where you "see your future husband's face," as the old peasant woman tells her, has a touch of poetry in it, and reminds one of the old fairy story when the heroine meets the beautiful prince. For Jehanne really does see her future husband's reflection in the water, though it is unknown to her at the time, and Madame de Serrurier, more artistic than the author of the fairy tale, keeps her prince still a mystery to the young girl till after several romantic little incidents. Even then, after their meeting at a ball, there are the inevitable misunderstandings connected with this sort of love affair. All, of course, ends happily, and Jehanne and her prince (who is by the way a count) live "happy ever after." The characters are well drawn and consistent, the worldly and manœuvring mother of Berthe's rather unwilling suitor being a really clever though slight sketch.

Altogether the book is refined and graceful, and may be recommended to those who like a story absolutely harmless and conventional and not devoid of some incident and quiet interest.

Eurythmie et Harmonie. Commentaire d'une page de Platon.

Par LE CARDINAL PERRAUD. Paris: P. Téqui. 1896.

THIS little book, of ninety-two small pages, is virtually a sermon from "a portion,"—not "of Scripture;" but the *Protagoras* of Plato, ending with the words "all human life requires rhythm and harmony." The Cardinal begins by saying that the world should be an immense orchestra in implicit obedience to the supreme conductor, and inciting the audience of all mankind to know Him, to admire Him, and to praise Him, as He deserves. He tells us how Job wrote of "the harmony of heaven," how David declared the stars to be singing the glory of God, and how Tubal, who lived only a few generations after Adam himself, was the father of "those who sing the praises of God, accompanied by the organ and the cithara." We may observe, in passing, that the text quoted (Genesis iv. 21) only says "of those

singing with the cithara and organ," without any mention of the praises of God; although they may possibly be implied. He goes on to show that, in the earliest Christian times, God was worshipped with "psalms and hymns, and spiritual canticles;" that St. Basil, in the fourth century, remarked that the sweetness of harmony was blended with the austerity of dogma in teaching the truth; and that only a few years later St. Augustine bore a singularly touching testimony to the power of sacred song. He then states that St. Ambrose introduced the custom of chanting the psalms of the office with two alternate choirs, one of men, and the other of women. As might be expected, he says much of St. Gregory the Great, and of the famous style of chanting which bears his name; nor does he fail to praise St. Philip's celebrated "disciple, penitent, and friend," Palestrina: and presently he turns to his own country and the Oratorians of France, making special mention of that great encourager of sacred music, de Bérulle. This section ends with a quotation from *Les Sources* of P. Gratreux, to the effect that the best kind of music, like the best kind of poetry, is the sister of prayer, and that its function is to remind the soul of heaven, the only place of perfect harmony and repose. But music should be an auxiliary to preaching, as well as to prayer; and, after a warning against the use of theatrical, profane, and "vulgar" music in connection with either, Cardinal Perraud gives an instance in which sacred song had greatly aided a sermon of his own. Having preached upon the Lamentations of Jeremiah, he told his congregation that they should next hear them, not expounded, but chanted. Immediately the choir began "The prayer of the Prophet Jeremiah" in solemn plain chant, to the accompaniment of the organ only. It seemed to the Cardinal that only a heart of stone could have resisted the appeal "convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum," as a remarkably fine singer threw "his whole soul and his whole faith" into the last phrase, with exquisite pathos; and he attributes any conversions which may then have taken place—the sermon was one of a Lenten course—as much, through the grace of God, to the solemn chant as to the words of the preacher.

Then comes a comparison between music and the Christian life. In each, law, order, obedience, regularity, and unity are absolutely necessary. A sacred harmony ought to control every part and portion of the Church, and to keep in perfect tune all the varieties of offices, graces, good works, and agencies which exist within its mighty orchestra; and the Cardinal praises "the urgency with which the Vicar of Jesus Christ has invited the schismatics of the East and the heretics of England to join in the great concert of Catholic Unity." A few pages upon "The Music and the Happiness of Heaven" bring

to an end an exceedingly graceful, instructive, and admirable little brochure.

The Brotherhood of Man. By the Rev. JOHN HOWARD CRAWFORD, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1895. Pp. 379.

THERE is much pleasant reading in this book, but not, we think, much that is profitable. The object of the book is to show that the end to which mankind is progressing is a united brotherhood. Reviewing the past, Mr. Crawford has much to say on the Catholic Church. In the early and middle ages, he thinks, the Church, in many ways, showed herself favourable to the idea of a universal brotherhood. Her teaching that the Church is a "visible society," her extension of learning to all, her missions to the heathen, were all steps in the directions of a united brotherhood. But, on the other hand, her mania for creed-making, her practice of excommunication, her glorification of celibacy, her support of wars against the infidel, were so many drag-chains upon the movement. Even the "Reformers" did not sufficiently grasp the necessity of a universal brotherhood. This is shown by Luther's attitude towards foreign missions. "Let the Turks live and believe as they choose," said Luther, "just as the Pope and other false Christians are allowed to live." Indeed, "it was not till the theology of the nineteenth century had made plain the great truth of the universal Fatherhood, that Christendom fully realised the general brotherhood of man." There are some quaint sayings scattered up and down the pages of Mr. Crawford. The quaintest, perhaps, is this: "Aquinas raised Aristotle to an equal position of authority with the Sacred Scriptures." So far as we can learn, Mr. Crawford does not say this in reprobation of St. Thomas. He seems to regard him, in consequence of this alleged equalising, as "on the side of the brotherhood of man."

Thoughts and Aspirations of the Ages. Selections in Prose and Verse from the Religious Writings of the World. Edited by WM. CHATTERTON COUPLAND, D.Sc., M.A. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Crown 8vo, 715 pp.

THIS collection of extracts from the writings of teachers of every possible creed is "the response to a desire expressed by representative members of South Place Ethical Society, London," to possess such a book of spiritual reading.

It is entirely catholic in scope (*i.e.* in the sense which latter-day philosophers give to that word with a little *c*), comprising with noble impartiality the sacred writings of every variety of conflicting religions, and it is hoped that a time may arise, "and that not very remote, when broader-minded ethico-religious communities will find the book valuable as a lectionary, displacing 'Bibles' of narrower historical scope and of far more mixed content." The fact that the "Christian" literature predominates is apologised for on account of the greater variety and richness of the material. However, we notice that Unitarianism largely predominates among these "Christian" extracts, having no less than twenty-eight extracts, while mediæval Christianity can only claim thirteen (and this including Giordano Bruno!), and "Primitive Christianity" (with seventeen selections from the New Testament, of course in the Revised Version) has but twenty-four.

As to the extracts they are given in chronological order; these from the New Testament only "approximately," as "the authors are unknown except of the first four selections from St. Paul's Epistles." The writings of unknown authors include the four Gospels, the Epistle to the Ephesians, the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse. "The fourth Gospel was probably written about 150 A.D."

The "broader-minded" religious communities who use this new "Bible" will not have to complain of lack of variety. For their first lesson, for instance, they may read an extract from the Buddhist Dhammapada; for their second, a selection from the Talmud; while the readings may be appropriately interspersed with hymns such as Cleanthes' hymn to Zeus, the *Veni Creator*, or a poem of Mrs. Browning. What more could a "catholic" mind desire? It is to be regretted that the literature of Fetish worship is so scanty, otherwise it would, we do not doubt, hold a prominent place in this handsome volume.

Vie du bienheureux Théophile de Corte, prêtre des Mineurs de l'Observance de S. François. Par M. l'Abbé ABEAU, Paris. 1896. 8vo, 413 pp.

LEO XIII. has lately raised to the altars of the Church another son of St. Francis, and his Life is now published in detail in the work before us. The author was for some years Superior of the *petit séminaire* which occupies the buildings of the Franciscan convent at Corte in Corsica, wherein our Saint made his religious profession. The biography has evidently been a labour of love, and

is careful and well written, though somewhat diffuse. Biagio de' Signori was born at Corte of a good family in 1676, and, after an innocent youth, joined the Franciscan Observants at the age of seventeen. From 1674 to 1700 he studied at Naples, and in the latter year was sent to do one more year at the convent of Ara Coeli at Rome. His great attainments led him to think of competing for the chair of philosophy there; but a call from God changed the course of his life. He went to make a stay in the convent of Civitella, in the diocese of the Abbey of Subiaco, to make the acquaintance of the Blessed Thomas of Cori, who had founded there a convent of "Retiro;" that is, a retreat of stricter life and more complete silence and recollection, away in the mountains. The Blessed Thomas saw in Theophilus a fit subject to aid him in his work of reform, and pressed him to remain. Theophilus refused, and returned to Rome. However, the last part of the journey he performed on a stretcher, having broken his leg at Tivoli on the way. On his sick-bed, attended by Blessed Thomas, who had come to see him, he reflected on the call he had received, and entering into himself, rejected the promptings of ambition, to embrace a higher life of silence, mortification, and obscurity. His life at Civitella was a model of religious perfection and of regular observance. He was distinguished by the humility and obedience which we expect of a saint, by gentleness mingled with strictness as a Superior, and by continual mortification. His love of the Divine Office, and his care for rubrics and ceremonies are noticeable. In meditation, to which two and a half hours every day are devoted by the rule of the convents of recollection, he was unconscious of all around him; the flies settled on his face, and the gnats stung him undisturbed. Miraculous graces were attributed to his prayers, and he was held in great veneration. In 1710 he was sent to Palombara in the Sabine country, another convent reformed by Blessed Thomas of Cori, and he was guardian there 1711-14, and at Civitella 1714-17. There the two Saints lived in friendship till the death of Blessed Thomas in 1727.

In 1730 Fra Teofilo was sent to his native island to found convents of Retiro, amid the greatest difficulties and perils. At the first convent fixed upon for reform, Campoloro, one of the Fathers, stirred up a rebellion amongst the country people against the change, by disseminating tales against the Saint and his companions. The church was filled with armed men on the first morning, and the new-comers were obliged to escape. The same programme was carried out with the same success at Farinola, whither he next betook himself, in spite of the presence of the definitor of the province. These scenes of violence were renewed at Pino Rogliano, but were unable to ruffle the calm-

ness of Theophilus. He walked barefoot to Caccia, a convent in the mountains, whither the Provincial had preceded him to prepare him a better reception, but the same discomfiture followed. At Zuani, another mountain convent, he managed at last to stay in spite of riots, and soon the convent became as popular as it was edifying. In the autumn of 1734 he was recalled to give new life to his old convents of Palombara and Civitella; and soon afterwards was called into Tuscany, where he was to reform the convent of Fucecchio, a little town on the Arno. When Theophilus arrived the guardian refused to surrender his office, and the religious refused to accept the stricter rule. They caused the people of the country to boycott him by refusing to send alms or food, or give any to those who went out to beg; doubtless expecting that the project would soon be given up, as in so many previous cases in Corsica. But the Saint gradually won their respect, obedience, goodwill, and veneration. The convent soon became flourishing, and before the death of Theophilus, in 1740, he was already regarded as a Saint; and the miracles which multiplied at his tomb produced an enthusiasm of devotion.

M. Abeau's book contains some original documents in an appendix, and some short notices of Corsican servants of God, from the Blessed Martin della Rocca in the fifteenth century down to the late pious and learned Cardinal Zigliari.

Napoléon et Alexandre I. L'Alliance Russe sous le premier Empire. III. La Rupture. Par ALBERT VANDAL. Ouvrage couronné deux fois par l'Académie Française. Paris: E. Plon. Nourrit et Cie. 1896.

FEW portions of French History are more interesting than that which deals with the period at which the great Napoleon, after attaining a position which had been unequalled by any monarch since the fall of the Roman Empire, was at last forsaken by fortune. He knew that his sovereignty was founded upon the popularity engendered by a succession of victories; and he believed that, unless that succession should continue unbroken, his power would diminish and that even his throne might totter; but he thought that one gigantic achievement was open to him, which would so far surpass all his others, as to enable him to repose for the remainder of his days upon its glories. That achievement was the ruin of Russia! The volume we now have to notice describes the events which took place from the first friction between Napoleon and the Czar to the failure of the last attempt at negotiation between those two great rivals, when the French

Emperor's enormous army had already marched some distance into Russia ; and a chapter in conclusion gives some details of the disasters which so soon followed in the career of one of the most ambitious and most unscrupulous potentates that ever lived. This great tragedy is almost as well-known here as in France ; Alison and Sir Walter Scott, to say nothing of a host of other writers, have made every phase of it familiar to English readers ; but M. Albert Vandal gives the most complete and exhaustive account of it that we have ever had the good fortune to meet with. He has gone far and wide in search of evidence ; he has quoted authorities of many kinds, if of varying value ; he has drawn freely from the invaluable "*Archives Nationales*," and he has ended his volume with a most interesting correspondence between Napoleon and Caulaincourt. It was not the least curious feature of the rupture between the two mighty sovereigns that both Caulaincourt, the French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and Kourakrine, the Russian Ambassador at Paris, were opposed to the warlike diplomacy of their sovereigns. On being summoned from St. Petersburg, Caulaincourt had an interview with Napoleon which lasted seven hours. Probably no servant of that Emperor ever spoke to him so freely or so fearlessly as his Ambassador to Russia ; and in spite of the insulting and threatening manner in which Napoleon taunted him with his friendship for the Czar, who, he declared, had made him into a Russian, Caulaincourt never flinched from the position which he considered it his duty to take up in opposition to his master's opinions.

If M. Vandal does not attempt to conceal the ambition, the selfishness, or the mistakes of Napoleon, he represents Alexander I. in a worse light than that in which most Englishmen have been accustomed to regard him ; but we must admit that, in support of his low estimate of the conduct of the Czar, he advances arguments of some weight. Nevertheless, there is another side to the question, and not the weakest evidence in its favour is the vindication of Alexander given by Caulaincourt in reply to Napoleon's assertions as to his perfidy, to be found in M. Vandal's own pages. In a book by a French author, it was to be expected that here and there would be found passages uncomplimentary to England and the English—our own contributions to French History contain at least equally plain speaking—but, whether they agree or disagree with his conclusions, critics from all countries should acknowledge that there is an air of honest intention in the style and tone of the author, and that he never tries to influence his readers unduly in forming their opinions from the evidence which he lays before them.

The book has dramatic interests as well as historical. The

descriptions of a great staghunt which Napoleon utilised for purposes of State, of the splendours of the assemblage of sovereigns at Dresden, of the ball at which the news came to the Czar of the invasion of his country, of the scene at Wilna on the arrival of the French troops, and of the many exciting interviews between Napoleon and diplomatists, afford interesting details and invaluable suggestions for the artist, the novelist, and the dramatist. And be the merits or demerits of the work what they may, one thing is certain, that every future historian of the period will find it of incalculable assistance.

Memories of a Student. By ALGERNON TAYLOR. London : Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. 1895.

WE are informed by the prefatory note to this work that its first edition was printed for private circulation only. It seems to us that a grievous mistake was made by the friends who "expressed a wish that it should be made accessible to a wider public." But surely it must have been an enemy that did this thing! Such an inconsequent and such a desultory book, containing no special information or matter of particular interest, might be all very well as a present for intimate acquaintances; but we cannot conceive what kind of "public," to use a modern publisher's term, could care to read it. Beyond a small private circle, we doubt whether much value will be attached to the information that Mr. Algernon Taylor has been a Volunteer, a member of an Archæological Society, a Vegetarian, a Governor of a County Hospital, an anti-Vivisectionist, and a Chairman of a School Board, or that he has lived within his income. Yet we freely admit that his book is a curiosity. He has had a perfect passion for going to church. In his case it does not seem to have been so much a devotion as a monomania. He not only occasionally visited, but "*frequented*," "places of worship belonging to almost every persuasion, Congregational, Baptist, Unitarian, Quaker, Wesleyan, Presbyterian, 'Free Protestant,' Bible Christians, Plymouth Brethren," &c., "seeking out the good that" he believed "was to be found, more or less abundantly, in every Christian body, from the 'Peculiar People' at one end of the scale to those at the opposite end, who, in this vale of trouble and tears, are not above invoking the suffrages of all the Heavenly Host in their fight against the evil around them and within." He delighted in drinking in "comfort and refreshment from resorting to the Divine drama of High Mass as superbly enacted, not only musically but religiously, in one or other

of the London churches"; and nothing pleased him more than to be a guest at some convent abroad, where he could enjoy "the advantage of five daily services." When in Rome, he always went to Mass, and then to hear the canons recite the office in some choir. In a chapter on "High Mass," he goes into raptures upon its charms. We should not quite like to quote from his well-intended descriptions of the more solemn parts of the Mass itself; but his *finale* may give an idea of their style.

The service being ended, you take your departure as the tapers are being, one by one, extinguished, the atmosphere redolent of frankincense, and the organ sounding forth some noble strain. You emerge into the outer air, with a feeling of having participated in (at least) a feast of harmony; the purely musical effects accentuated by lights, aromatic perfume, bright vestments, painting, architecture, and other accessories, such as the grandest of Liturgies (whereof the English Prayer-book is largely a compendium, though with variations and additions) expressed in the most sonorous of human tongues—to say nothing of any definite religious influences, &c.

Definite religious influences, indeed, are exactly what appear to have been most wanting in Mr. Algernon Taylor.

As to religion and things religious, apart from going to church, he has wonderful things to tell us: that "the idea of the Real Presence" is to be found in the writings of St. John Chrysostom; that "the practice of the Church of Rome, by which the Holy Eucharist is made the centre and heart of Divine worship, seems to be also that of the Plymouth Brethren, so far at least as regards their meeting specially for the 'breaking of bread' on each recurring Sunday morning," and that thus "extremes meet"; that St. Francis of Assisi and Wesley both "held what would now be called high-church 'views'"; and that M. Renan interpreted "the philosophy of religion" "in a sense more or less divergent from established usage." Mr. Algernon Taylor's *Memories* end with a chapter on Mathematics and an appendix on the Differential Calculus.

The Comedy of English Protestantism. In Three Acts.
Scene: Exeter Hall, London. *Time:* The Summer of 1893.
 Edited by A. F. MARSHALL, B.A. Oxon. New Revised Edition.
 New York: Benziger Brothers. 1896.

NEW editions of successful books do not demand reviews in detail, and the brilliancy, incisiveness, humour, and force of Mr. Marshall's style is too well known to require any blast of trumpets from the critics. We should like to make every sufficiently-educated

English Protestant read "The Comedy of English Protestantism," and, what is more, we should like to make every sufficiently-educated lay Catholic who lives in Great Britain or Ireland read it. English Catholics are too apt to rest content with their own personal faith, without preparing themselves to defend it; while comparatively few qualify themselves to attack the heresy which surrounds them. Now this little book would educate them for both purposes in an easy, pleasant, and even amusing, manner. If it should lead them to study deeper works, so much the better; but there is many a dry, dull, and ponderous treatise that is not the result of so much learning as this unpretentious little booklet of 238 small pages. It contains some theology, much history, and very much common sense; and all these excellent things are seasoned with that also excellent thing—a good deal of fun.

Un aide dans la douleur. Par l' Auteur des "Avis Spirituels." Huitième édition. Paris: P. Téqui, 29 Rue de Tournon. 1895. 18mo, pp. 696.

A BOOK of devotion for those in affliction, pain, and sorrow, is a distinct want, and it is well filled by this admirable work, which has already reached its eighth edition. More general than Perreyve's "Journée des Malades," it is written not only for the sick but for all in trouble. The chapters on physical sufferings, the crosses of life, adversity, and interior sufferings, are followed by "salutary maxims" (such as the "Tout par amour, rien pour force" of St. François de Sales, "Chi dura vince!" "Rien ne manque à qui Dieu seul suffit" of St. Theresa); "Brief Lessons," "Things useful to know," "Symbols," "Questions to solve," "Motives of confidence," and other divisions, each of which is full of devout and helpful meditations. The examples are, many of them, taken from events and persons known to the author, and are some of them particularly happy. We recommend the book to those who have the grace of suffering.

Ricerche Storiche sopra il B. Bonifacio di Savoia, Arcivescovo di Cantorbery, 1207-1270. By the Rev. JOSEPH STRICKLAND, S.J. Turin. 1895.

THIS monograph, comprising eighty-six pages, appears to be the work of an English member of an Italian Jesuit community, and is a useful contribution to the history of the Church in England

[No. 19 of *Fourth Series*.]

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during the thirteenth century. At that period an Archbishop of Canterbury was a power to be reckoned with, and the story of his pontificate necessarily includes the leading events both in Church and State, in which he was compelled by his position to take a prominent part. The period, moreover, in which Boniface occupied the archiepiscopal throne was a very stirring one, succeeding as he did to the legacy of troubles which had driven St. Edmund to die a broken-hearted exile, whilst his pontificate was prolonged till after the collapse of the barons' revolt at the battle of Evesham.

The author tells us that his chief object in writing this historical sketch is to vindicate Archbishop Boniface from the calumnious aspersions of his contemporary, Matthew Paris. As long as M. Paris held the field as the chronicler *par excellence*, his gibes against the papal administration enjoyed wide currency and implicit credence on the part of those who sympathised with him; but since a flood of light has been thrown on the subject by the publication of registers, letters, and other contemporary annals, no student of history would attach any credence to Paris' intemperate denunciations unless they are corroborated by independent evidence. In fact, Paris bears witness against himself by the corrected edition of his chronicle which he made in the later years of his life, and in which he suppressed or toned down the grosser misrepresentations of the first edition.

Still Fr. Strickland deems that even in the revised edition the Archbishop is treated with manifest injustice, and proceeds to vindicate him on all the points of accusation with which Paris charges him. To accomplish his task, the author has recourse to the most authentic sources, namely, Berger's Register of Innocent IV., Royal Letters, and contemporary monastic annals. The result of his careful and accurate researches is completely to exonerate Boniface from the charges which Paris brings against him, and to justify the estimate which was passed upon him by Wykes, who was also the Archbishop's contemporary, and survived him some years. His testimony is the more significant as that of a monk, who, therefore, might be supposed to share the prejudices of M. Paris. He thus sums up his character :

He was a man of wonderful simplicity, though not very learned; he lived soberly and directed himself by the advice of the most discreet; he was humble, pure, modest, and a most lavish benefactor of the poor.

The author gives an outline of his career drawn from authentic sources, and shows him to have been an able administrator, a firm supporter of ecclesiastical discipline, and, though a foreigner, he from the very first placed himself at the head of the patriotic party, who were pledged to resist the encroachments of the King on the civil and

religious liberties of his subjects. Boniface was a younger son of the Count of Savoy. Early in life he entered the Carthusian order, but whilst still in the novitiate was made Bishop of Belley. In 1241 he was elected to the See of Canterbury, left vacant by the death of St. Edmund, at the instance of his niece, Queen Eleanor; but he did not receive the papal confirmation until 1243. He had scarcely landed in England when he was engaged in a struggle with Henry III. on behalf of St. Richard, whom the King sought to exclude from the See of Chichester. The King bitterly reproached the Archbishop for his ingratitude for thus opposing him after he had procured his election. But in this and in other controversies Boniface opposed an unyielding front to the Royal pretensions. He found the diocese burdened with an enormous debt amounting to 15,000 marks. M. Paris has the effrontery to say that this debt was fictitious and was used as a pretext to levy money for sinister purposes. But the debt was proved in the Papal Court, as is shown by a bull dated August 27, 1245. Indeed the facts were too palpable. From the death of Archbishop Langton in 1228 to the election of Boniface in 1243, the See had been vacant six years, which meant that it was exposed all that time to the pillage of the King and his courtiers, whilst St. Edmund during the whole of his seven years' pontificate was engaged in a ruinous litigation with the Christ Church monks, with other monastic bodies, and with the barons who had plundered his domains. No one knew these facts better than Matthew Paris, and it is impossible to acquit him of bad faith in making this accusation.

B. Boniface showed his zeal and capacity not only for the temporal, but also the spiritual administration of the province committed to his charge. He resolved to carry out a visitation of his suffragan bishops and their dioceses. He, however, met with a determined resistance on the part of the bishops and the various capitular bodies. Here again M. Paris traduces the Archbishop's motives, grossly exaggerates the conflicts which took place, and falsely accuses him of unseemly violence. In making this visitation Boniface was assisted by the illustrious Franciscan, Adam Marsh.

The Life of Sir Henry Halford, Bart., G.C.H., M.D., F.R.S., President of the Royal College of Physicians, Physician to George III., George IV., William IV., and to Her Majesty Queen Victoria. By WILLIAM MUNK, M.D., F.S.A., Fellow and late Vice-president of the Royal College of Physicians of London. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1895. 284 pp.

SIR HENRY HALFORD would seem to have been singularly smiled upon by fortune in his professional career.

His birth in 1766 as second of the seven sons of James Vaughan, M.D., practising physician at Leicester, of an honourable, if not illustrious family, tracing its descent from William Vaughan F.R.C.S., doctor of medicine of Leyden and Cambridge (died 1712), was hardly such as to justify any unusually great expectations. His education, at Rugby, Oxford, Edinburgh, and under his father at Leicester, was indeed thorough; Dr. Vaughan, we are told, thinking it better to give his sons a liberal education than to leave them accumulated wealth at his death. Having set up at Scarborough, Henry Vaughan was advised, despite, or perhaps because of, his successful début, to remove to London.

Funds were wanting, but fortune, in the shape of his "friend and patient, Lady Apreece" advanced £1000, wherewith he set up in Mayfair in 1793. Elected physician to the Middlesex Hospital in that year, and Fellow of the College of Physicians in the next, sworn physician-extraordinary to the King before he had been a year in London, life seems to have been for him a series of successes from this time forward. The record of his professional receipts, rising steadily from £164 in 1793 to £9850 in 1809, and known to have been regularly over £10,000 for many subsequent years, bears witness to his successes.

When summoned in 1806 to the Duchess of Devonshire's bedside, Vaughan alone of all the doctors was correct in his diagnosis of her case; with what a painful interest does one read the details of the miserable disease that carried off the original of Gainsborough's lovely portraits! "From this time," as we learn through Lady Halford, on almost the only occasion that her name appears in these pages, "the door bell in Curzon Street was rarely still;" one of the patients thus attracted being the statesman, Charles James Fox. It was not long before the fortunate physician was in regular attendance upon the Prince of Wales, then the King and well-nigh the whole royal family, whilst amongst throngs of other distinguished names under his treatment appear those of Wilberforce, Warren Hastings, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Pitt, and the Earl of Chatham.

The fact that Sir Henry Halford, although not until ten years later President of the College of Physicians, should have been consulted by Lord Palmerston in 1810 as to the amount of the sum which it would be proper for him to recommend to the Treasury to be offered to Dr. Blanc as a remuneration for his trouble in undertaking an expedition to Walcheren for the purpose of reporting upon the state of Lord Chatham's army, speaks for itself as to his place in public opinion.

His elder brother being dead, Dr. Vaughan succeeded in 1814 to the Halford estate of Wistow (his maternal grandmother had been a Halford), having previously to this assumed the name of Halford, and been created Baronet as a mark of royal favour.

In the spring of 1813 [says Mr. Munk] an event of some historical interest occurred, in which Sir Henry Halford was called upon to play an important part. This was the opening of the coffin of Charles I. with a view to its identification.

An interesting account follows, abridged from Sir Henry's own manuscript :

It was found after the coffin of King Charles had been soldered up, that the portion of the vertebra which had been cut through and had separated from the neck escaped restoration to the coffin which His Royal Highness (Prince Regent) then presented to Sir Henry Halford. . . . Its existence in Sir Henry's possession became known and was somewhat severely commented upon.

The present representative of the family, Sir Henry St. John Halford not feeling quite at ease in its possession, sought an interview with H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and restored it to his hands.

Sir Henry was much trusted and confided in by the Royal Family :

He was actively engaged, in 1815, in the attempt to bring about a reconciliation between Queen Charlotte and the Duke of Cumberland, who had displeased her by his marriage. Sir Henry, too, was the medium of communication between the Prince Regent and the Princess Charlotte in all that related to her marriage with the Prince of Orange.

He felt bound to refuse the request of Princess Amelia that he should act as mediator between her royal father and herself on the subject of secret marriage to Colonel Fitzroy. The Duke of Cumberland was apparently a constant correspondent.

When William IV. died in Sir Henry Halford's absence, and the latter, owing to his relations with the Queen, seems to have hesitated as to what course to pursue, His Royal Highness writes :

I hope you will excuse an old and sincere friend observing to you the propriety of your going down to Windsor, if only to inquire after the Queen Excuse this, but attribute it to true friendship.

Later, as King of Hanover, he writes :

Oh, how often do I sigh after dear Kew and my little cottage there. There is a great deal of glory but little enjoyment in a king's life, and as Duke of Cumberland I was much happier, and more my own master than I now shall ever be again.

Among the physician's warm friends was Wellington, and the following note strikes the reader as peculiarly characteristic of the Iron Duke :

You have only to persevere in your own judicious course. Pay no attention to observations from the right or from the left, and you may rely upon it that there is not a good or a judicious man in the country who will not do you justice.

Sir Henry Halford was a great classical scholar and a fluent speaker, and he has strongly expressed his opinion on the vexed question of how much or how little patients should be told concerning their condition. The volume is pleasant reading, and a correspondence, including letters confidential, official, or otherwise, signed by so many famous names, whilst putting us pleasantly in touch with the times, may justify Mr. Munk's plea for his book as a page of social history.

M. C.

Lettres de l'Abbé Henri Perreyve. 1850-1865. Sixième Edition. Augmentée de plusieurs lettres. 1896. Paris : P. Téqui. Pp. 507.

A NEW edition of this book, so widely known amongst Catholics, scarcely needs much comment.

Amongst the additional letters is one to the Comte de Montalembert, in which the writer seems to reveal the keynote of his life. Having spoken of the trials which beset a priest he says :

Je n'ai pour me rassurer contre ces périls et ma faiblesse qu'un seul sentiment : celui d'être sans peur et sans ambition.

For those who do not know the previous editions of the work may be mentioned the letters to Père Lacordaire, the Abbé de la Boussière, the Comte de Montalembert, the Abbé Germain, and many others, amongst which are the charming letters to a young man in the world—"un ami d'enfance" whom the young Abbé endeavoured to influence for good, and a delightful "lettre de première Communion," to a little cousin about to make it.

The additions are partly "Pensées," and partly letters to various correspondents.

M. C.

Code de Procédure canonique dans les Causes Matrimoniales. Par M. l'Abbé G. PERIES, Docteur en droit canon. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 10 Rue Cassette.

THE author of this volume pursues, together with many others in France and elsewhere, what he calls the "Codification of Ecclesiastical Laws." There is no question of overthrowing the sacred legislation, but of releasing it from the encumbrances of a superannuated form. "The only change which we claim," he says, "ultimately comes to the introduction into canon law of a more scientific and at the same time a more simple apparatus." In the work before us the author has made an application of his ideas to the canonical process to be followed in matrimonial cases, and he exposes very methodically in twenty-four chapters and 530 short articles whatever is scattered about in the various sources of canon law concerning the legislation of matrimony. An explanation is added to every such article which seems to require it.

The first part of the volume contains five chapters, and describes the dispositions generally to be observed in all matrimonial trials; the officials constituting the ecclesiastical court; their attributions and functions; the proceedings and working of the court.

In the second part are examined the causes which may give rise to judicial proceedings; they are chiefly the diriment impediments: age, impotency, &c. Impediments merely impedient are only to be considered here in so far as they concern a marriage to be contracted and the questions, for instance, of espousals, of mixed religion, of the consent of parents, &c., which might become the object of a judgment (1st section).

Another source for legal proceedings are the defects in the marriage consent, *i.e.*, the absence of sufficient discretion, error, conditional consent, &c. (2nd section).

The third source is the non-observation of the form of marriage, as laid down by the Council of Trent, Sess., xxiv. chapter Tametsi (3rd section).

The last source is divorce either *quoad ipsum vinculum* or *quoad separationem à toro* (4th section).

The xxivth chapter is an appendix concerning espousals.

Ecclesiastical officials who have to deal with matrimonial causes will find this work very handy and useful and, in general, priests wishing to revise that part of their theology which treats of the impediments will find it a very elaborate compendium.

The author's chief guide in composing his volume has been the most valuable work of Mgr. Gasparri: *Tractatus Canonici de*

Matrimonio, in 2 vols., a work which we cannot sufficiently recommend to the perusal and study of the clergy.

A Short History of the Catholic Church in England. Catholic Truth Society. 1895. 8vo, pp. 502.

THE publication of this excellent history has greatly added to the debt which we already owe the Catholic Truth Society.

In five hundred well-written and well-printed pages we are given a summary of the fortunes of the Catholic faith in this island, which, though concise and simple (as the Bishop of Clifton remarks in the Preface), is at once accurate, fair, and eminently readable.

It is also thoroughly up to date; the writings of Dom Gasquet on the "Black Death," of Canon Moyes on the "Statutes of Provisors" and *Premunire* in the *Tablet*, the late Fr. Morris' statistics and facts as to "Catholic England in Modern Times," and other recent publications are made good use of; while the book ends very appropriately with a notice of Leo XIII.'s Encyclical "*Ad Anglos*."

The writer has not shrunk from showing the seamy side of English Church life before the Reformation, and the chapter on the "Grievances of the Church in England" is a model of plain-speaking tempered by discretion and that breadth of view which characterises those who look on that Church as only a part of a great organism commensurate with the civilised world.

If we have a few complaints to make, they are only suggested in the hope that in future editions the book may be made even yet more useful and practical. A very serious fault in such a work is the want of an index, and the paucity of references is also greatly to be regretted. If these could not be added in every place, at least a list of authorities consulted should be inserted.

There are one or two details in which the conciseness necessarily aimed at by the writer has led to too positive statements about disputed points. We do not think, for instance, that it is proved that the Carthusian martyrs ever did acknowledge the Royal Supremacy (p. 131). Dom Hendricks in his "History of the London Charterhouse" argues forcibly against a view which seems to make much of their subsequent history unintelligible. Again, in the story of "St. Etheldreda" (p. 60), it would have been well to state that she had made a vow of perpetual virginity with the consent of her husband, otherwise her conduct seems unjustifiable.

On page 128 the legend as to the origin of the Feast of the Conception of our Lady is given, but no notice is taken of the disproof of

this legend, and the real facts of the case as given in some admirable articles by Mr. Bishop in the *Downside Review*. The tradition as to the fate of the murderers of St. Thomas of Canterbury is also untrustworthy, and so, we think, is the horrible story of the outrage offered by Anne Bullen to B. John Fisher's head. It would have been well too to point out that the Benedictine Abbots were martyred for the Papal Supremacy, not merely for resisting the king's desire to seize their Abbeys. At least the former was the pretext, though the king's love of spoil no doubt suggested pressing the "perilous questions" of their loyalty to Rome. It is not quite correct to say that *all* those who were tried with B. Campion were found guilty and suffered accordingly at Tyburn; for Colleton was acquitted on an *alibi*, Bosgrave, Orton, and Rishton were never martyred. The place of St. Edmund of Canterbury's death is usually written Soisy, and Cadwallador was the name of the martyr here called Cadwaller, which is a form we have never met with. (It is written Kadwalidor in the manuscript relations of his death at Oscott). But these trifling misprints are the only ones we have noticed. In conclusion, we may add that though the tone of the book is not controversial, there are a few excellent notes which give in a nutshell the answer to some current errors. We may specify for instance that on the phrase *alterius orbis papa*, and that on St. Gregory's condemnation of the title of Universal Bishop.

The noticeable omissions are few, but we should have liked a few words about the venerable English College at Rome, and we think it is a mistake to have so completely passed over the sad dissensions between English Catholics during the latter years of Elizabeth and the subsequent reign. We want truth before edification in a history of the Church, and these dissensions hold the key of many a problem.

In conclusion, we wish every success to this latest venture of the Catholic Truth Society.

D. B. C

The History and Fate of Sacrilege. By SIR HENRY SPELMAN. With an Introductory Essay by Two Priests of the Church of England. 4th Edition: With an Appendix bringing the Work up to the Present Date. By the Rev. G. F. S. WARREN, M.A. *Catholic Standard Library.* John Hodges, Bedford Street, Strand. 1895.

THIS interesting work, after passing through many vicissitudes, is now incorporated in the "Catholic Standard Library," and re-issued at the price of 12s. It may seem to some readers but a gloomy catalogue of crime and misfortune, affecting the families of three-quarters of the aristocracy and gentry of England, and even attainting the Crown. But it is well to recognise this great evil in our midst—that disease, of which the great Niebuhr long ago declared England to be sick, in order that a cure may be found. We do not think there was ever a more direct manifestation of the finger of God and a more rapid following of punishment on crime than is contained in the narratives of this book.

Sir Henry Spelman was a Norfolk landowner, who had suffered much himself from the possession of two sites of abbeys, but which he gave up in 1612, and "hereby first discerned the infelicity of meddling with consecrated places."

Sir Henry then began to collect information respecting the fate of impropriations until his death in 1634, when his papers were entrusted to the Rev. Jeremy Stephens. After the great rebellion the printing of the work was commenced, but its publication was forbidden, as giving offence to the nobility and gentry; subsequently many parts of the MSS. perished in the fire of London, but a transcript of the "Remains" was discovered by Bishop Gibson in the Bodleian Library. Prudential reasons again prevented the publication of Spelman's "Remains;" but in 1698 an unknown editor, calling himself "a less discreet person than Mr. Gibson" (who attained three bishoprics in the Anglican Church), at last published the work, of which he had become possessed of a true copy, declaring—"he will e'en let the world make what use of it they please." The original title-page describes it as "The History of Sacrilege from the Beginning of the World Continually to this Day." It was re-edited with an introductory essay by two "Priests of the Church of England" in 1846.

The researches of the worthy knight, though unpublished during his life, yet made a great impression on his contemporaries, and, following his example, many of the gentry of Norfolk and other parts, and some Oxford colleges, gave up large portions of their estates on learning that they were impropriations. While living in London Sir

Henry was consulted every term by those who were doubtful of their rights to the land.

The "History of Sacrilege" is traced from the Old Testament records, from that of the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Heathen nations down to the Christian Era, but becomes, of course, most manifest under the rule of Henry VIII. and after the Reformation so-called.

Nothing is more remarkable than the horror of sacrilege displayed by the ancient heathen nations, especially by the Greek authors, and the penalties they describe as following it.

There is a remarkable similarity in the misfortunes of the families here mentioned, and the frequency of the changing of owners of such ill-gotten lands. The failure of heirs male, and consequent extinction of families, the numerous violent deaths, crimes, and visible judgments following on them, can hardly be accidental. A few passages occur, in which sacrilege is wrongly ascribed, owing to the Anglican bias of the author and editors of 1846—as on p. 97, when Clement VII. is accused of this crime, in giving a licence to Cardinal Wolsey to suppress forty monasteries in order to build his own college; the Pope's punishment is alleged to be the sacking of Rome by the Duke of Bourbon and the imprisonment and flight of the Pope—for they are in ignorance of the power of the keys and of the authority of Christ's Vicar to bind and unloose. But with these few exceptions the book is wonderfully impartial in its tone.

The appendix, giving an alphabetical list of the mitred abbeys and a complete index, make it a useful book of historical reference, and it should be found on the shelf of every library.

A. A. M. W.

Andrew A. Bonar, D.D., Diary and Letters: Transcribed and edited by his daughter, MARJORY BONAR. Hodder and Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row.

THIS diary of a minister of the Presbyterian Free Church, carried on for nearly sixty years, is interesting as giving a faithful portrait of the religious life, belief, and growth of a soul, within the narrow limitations of this sect, from which his ideas were never permitted to stray, and the spiritual level to which it is possible for such an undoubtedly earnest and humble soul to attain in it during a lifetime devoted to what he believed to be the service of God. It is a monotonous record perhaps: accounts of prayer-meetings, supposed revivals, inward introspections of religious feelings, to which great importance is given. But the greatest stress is laid on the need of prayer all

through the book; this truth seems to be the principle of his life and teaching. Much anxiety is expressed also about his preaching and its visible effects, and reports brought to him of some "conversions" wrought by his words are noted down with an almost wistful gratification, although we cannot fail to notice that it is nearly always a woman, generally "a young woman," sometimes a boy, who "gets views on sinfulness" at his words. He notes sorrowfully at the end of his life in 1891 :

February 7th. Much humbled in reviewing my ministry to find how many of the young men of my congregation have been to this day unconverted. I tried to set a "full Christ" before them always, but I fear that I failed to wrestle in prayer in their behalf. It is a sore fact in my ministry.

Some light is thrown on what is intended by Communion in the Scottish Church, and what they expect to gain by it; and no doubt graces of spiritual communion were given to this prayerful soul, for he speaks of

getting near views of Christ [in Communion], and we were like people sitting on the banks of a river, calmly enjoying ourselves, and receiving an order afterwards to rise and work (1885).

The first chapter tells us of the three years preceding what he calls "his conversion;" of the heart-searchings as to whether he was "in Christ" or "out of Christ;" whether he could feel the peculiar symptoms that he was "saved;" envy at his friends "getting in" before him; "vexation at my coldness;" "awful struggles in my soul;" and finally he awakes one morning after a dream, "saved——"

and suddenly the thought of Christ's love to me, and His work for me, rushed into my mind. I was filled with the joy of complete salvation, which took away all my fear.

A process almost inexplicable to a Catholic. This satisfied him that he could now try for the ministry. His pastoral work lay in Callace and Glasgow for nearly sixty years, and closed only at his death in 1892. Some of his confessions are touching in their sincerity, such as:

A strange flood of sorrow and vexation, from earthly cisterns being dry to me, often comes upon me on Saturday and Sabbath. It is plain I have not learned to place Christ in the room of all things.

A deep striving after a personal love and union with Christ is visible all through the book. Sometimes happier moments come, days on which he notes, "Got a light." He early embraced views of the nearness of the millennium, and took a great interest in the conversion of the

Jews. He believed in fasting, for as well as the half-yearly fasts enjoined by the Free Church, he notes :

I began last year the custom of private fasts, and never have I found more answers to direct petitions than since then.

Sep. 21, 1864. Was able to fast and spend the day till nearly four o'clock in prayer and confession.

I suppose mental confession is meant, for, although he had read "Augustine," he appears never to have given a thought to any Catholic doctrine. It is remarkable that although he was a contemporary of our two great convert cardinals, and must have heard of the Catholic revival in England, the only mention he makes of things Catholic is the note at the beginning of his ministry :

Much encouraged by finding in my district that a Roman Catholic woman gives evidence of a real change, and ascribes her conversion to me as the instrument. She spoke with the deepest feeling of gratitude I ever remember such expressing.

Query, could she have been Irish? and was it just "a bit of blarney"? One year, too, he notes dangers threatening from "the invasions of Popery," 1856.

His end was peaceful, in December 1891—not surprising when he could write, a few months before,

Have been passing within the veil in my thoughts, and fancying the meeting I may soon have with these (departed ministers) when we sit at the table there, reclining, like John, on Christ's bosom.

The phraseology is Puritanical throughout, and nearly all the texts and allusions are drawn from the Old Testament, and he likes to call himself "a Levite." The value of the book is its sincerity; it is a modern "Pilgrim's Progress," but the marvel remains that such a belief could remain untouched by any influences of the 19th century, and that so much real devotion could attain no higher creed.

A. A. M. W.

Studies in Church History. By the REV. REUBEN PARSONS, D.D.
Vol. II. (Centuries ix.—xiv.). Pustet & Co, New York and Cincinnati. 1895.

THIS is a continuation of a scholarly and useful work. Under the modest title of "Studies," the author really manages to give the main facts of Church History as a whole. And while a series of detached essays—connected as these are merely by their chrono-

logical order—necessarily lacks something of the picturesqueness and detail of continuous narrative, compensation may be found in the greater concentration of light on points of vital importance. These Studies somewhat resemble the “Dissertationes” of Professor Jungmann, but are more markedly “apologetic” in character and purpose. In the method of treatment less room is given to quotation and examination of original sources, and more to summarising of facts and results, and to the bringing together of views and opinions from all sides in the cause of the Church. The present volume deals with the Middle Ages, and embraces the period extending from the revival of the Western Empire under Charlemagne to the end of the Western Schism. The extent of ground traversed may be appreciated, when it is stated that the number of Studies in the volume is forty-one and that the subjects include not only such necessary *pièces de résistance* as the Greek Schism, the False Decretals, the Inquisition, Pontificates of the more famous Popes, and Digests of General Councils, but also such matters of special interest as the addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed, Clerical Celibacy, the Right of the Pope to depose Sovereigns, and the Cause of St. Thomas of Canterbury, as well as historic estimates of such different characters as Abelard, Dante, Rienzi, and Wyclif. Long as the list is, however, it might with advantage have been longer—made more complete, that is, by such matters as the work of the Mendicant Orders, or Scholasticism, or England’s relations with the Holy See. Then, too, instead of limited subjects like “the comparison of S. Leo IX. with Pius IX.,” the “Truce of God,” and the so-called deposition of John XII—important as these are in themselves—we should have much preferred the larger questions of the historic position of the Temporal Power itself, the relations between the Church and the feudal system in all its aspects, and the whole treatment of the charges made against the latter Popes of the tenth century. But the selection of subjects has, doubtless, been made to suit the author’s own purpose, just as the limitations in their treatment are due to his avowed desire to avoid theological discussions and too much “profane history.” It is for this latter reason, at any rate, that in his account of Innocent III.’s Pontificate he declines to consider that Pope in his relations with *Magna Charta*—though we think inadvisedly, as this point is still constantly misrepresented by our enemies in their attacks on the Church. Again, though the author generally alludes to the original literature of the respective subjects, his references to it are often bare and indiscriminate. Liudprand, Witikind, Hermann “Contractus,” Anastasius, Otho of Frisingen, Ivo of Chartres, Nicetas, Procopius, “Walden,” &c., are names of varied historical merit and importance;

and yet they are merely names to the ordinary reader. Even students would have found it an advantage, we think, to have the chief original authorities placed at the head of each "Study," with a brief account of them and their respective values. The author's treatment, however, of the many and varied quotations from after-writers is generally both full and critical; and in his remarks on Gibbon's incapacity to understand the Church of the Middle Ages, or on Hallam's inadequacy of appreciation, or Sismondi's and Mosheim's misrepresentations, or the Gallican propensities of Maimbourg and Fleury, or the occasional "minimisations" of our own Lingard, or even the shortcomings of the great Bossuet himself—he seems equally discriminating and just. The tone of the work is admirable—at once loyally Catholic and fearlessly candid. In style the author aims neither at elegance nor eloquence, but is wisely content with clearness of statement, calmness of judgment, plainness of argument, and fulness of information. Though the essays are not all of equal merit, in none of them is there any superfluous writing; whatever would be beside the point is vigorously excluded. These qualities make the volume equally useful, whether considered as a plain up-to-date *Apologia* for the Mediæval Church, or as a concise summary of evidence and opinions on historic questions of moment, or, finally, as a foundation for a more detailed study of Church History itself. As regards the editing, there are a few mistakes which, though not serious, are irritating; as, for instance, when the author canonises Lanfranc and Peter Lombard (p. 7), or speaks of "Kempten in Switzerland" (p. 11), or alludes to Ado of Vienne as "Ado of Vienna" (p. 49), or to Lupus of Ferrières as "Lupus of Ferrara" (p. 48). or spells names of persons and places, such as Lothair, Frisingen, now in one way now in another. There is some excuse for this in a book of 600 pages, where hosts of names occur: yet it is a disfigurement which should be carefully removed in a further edition. There is a useful chronological table at the end of the book, but there is no index; the author probably intends making a general one for the whole work when it is complete. We may add that the printing and general style of the book are excellent.

J. H.

Dictionnaire Grec-Français des noms liturgiques en usage dans l'Eglise Grecque. Par CLUGNET (LEON). Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1895.

THE object of this little work is well explained in the few modest words which preface it, and which may be thus summed up :

The liturgical books of the Greek Church are but little known in Western Europe. One reason, it may be, is the difficulty in obtaining them; but if they have been rare, this is no longer the case. Besides the reprints from the presses of the schismatics at Venice, Constantinople, Athens, Smyrna, &c., the propaganda has begun an edition which will be the *editio typica* for Greco-Hellenic Catholics. Any one who knows ancient Greek can read them easily, and a very slight acquaintance with modern Greek will be enough for the understanding of the rubrics which in some recently printed volumes are given in this tongue. The only difficulty lies in the existence in the rubrics, old or new, of certain terms, the liturgical meaning of which is not to be found in lexicons in current use; some of the words are not to be found, or are to be found explained incorrectly, even in Goar or Ducange; besides these books, cumbersome in themselves, are not to be found in all libraries (even public, it may be added). It is to meet such difficulty that the present small dictionary has been drawn up. To obtain a definition, exact and sure, of some terms, I have often had to read the printed books through and consult Greeks possessing a thorough practical acquaintance with the ceremonies of their rite.

The object in view, then, is simply and solely to facilitate an acquaintance with the Greek liturgical books, not merely on the part of the "learned," but on the part of commonly intelligent men also. It may be asked: And of what use is this? The author gives a reply to the question which should be sufficient to Catholics who love their religion, and are alive to what is going on around them :

It is now a long time ago that we in the West have ceased to interest ourselves in the rites of a Church which is separated from the great Catholic family. But there are many circumstances which make such an attitude no longer excusable. Most of these reasons to move us are strictly religious; and among them must be counted in the forefront those aspirations, secret or openly avowed, which seem to urge the schismatic Greeks towards the Latin Church (or rather, urge them to look towards the Chair of Peter); again, the efforts of the supreme pastor, Pope Leo XIII., tending towards the return of the strayed sheep to the fold; and finally, a newly awakened activity among the Greeks who have remained Catholic, inducing them to come forth from the obscurity in which poverty and persecution, combined with the paucity of their numbers, have so long kept them. But if Latin Catholics be anxious and impatient to see the Greek Church return to the salutary guidance of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, they must not content themselves with merely looking on at a distance, but must themselves help forward the good cause. Now perhaps the very best means of overcoming the

prejudices and susceptibilities of the Easterns of the Greek rite is to show that we take a sincere and lively interest in all that they respect and revere, and in particular in their ancient and beautiful liturgy. Moreover, the Latin will himself derive a very great advantage from a real knowledge of the Greek liturgy, and will thereby the better understand his own.

Such being the author's aim and intention, he has set himself to work in a plain and practical way; those who use his book will not be troubled or confused by any parade of cheap learning, silently and easily borrowed from Ducange or Suicer or Sophocles. There is none of it, but only a simple, and at the same time sufficiently full, and, as far as possible, exact explanation of the meaning and use of each technical term. At the end is an index of French equivalents with the Greek word under which the explanation is given in the dictionary itself.

It is to be hoped that the book will be used by many persons who have for one reason or another neglected these particular studies, or even, it may be, looked at them askance as something like a waste of time. And it is to be desired for reasons of practical moment, as well those touched on by the author as for others, that the general ignorance in regard to these matters be dissipated. Ignorance, as we know, is the fruitful mother of superstition. In the preface of even a writer so well-intentioned, and so personally desirous of overcoming ignorance, as M. Clugnet, there are still traces of such superstition. "N'est ce pas chez elles (that is in the Greek Liturgy) que le Latin retrouvera les formes les plus anciennes de la plupart des rites en usage dans les Églises Occidentales?" he exclaims. This thesis has been unquestionably dinned into our ears, especially in England, often enough. But before accepting it there seems to be need of a good deal of the process known as "distinction." The "unchanging East" is, indeed, a proverbial expression; and it is true that from the seventh century the Anatolian Church (to use the happy expression of a recent Protestant writer on the subject) has been much like a fossil. But if facts have any meaning, its previous conservatism can be allowed only with very large reservations. In spite of all the wonderful things reported of the "Liturgy of St. James," to say nothing of the "Liturgy of the Holy Apostles Adai and Mari," time and study bring home only more and more strongly to the mind that, as regards "primitivism" in ecclesiastical rites, there are circles apt to be superstitious in regard to the East, and unduly depreciatory in regard to the West. The guidance of good sense is above all things needed in these studies. In going somewhat out of the way to take exception to an incidental expression in M. Clugnet's preface, it

should also be stated that he has distinctly allowed himself to be guided by good sense throughout his book as a whole.

E. B.

Hariulf. *Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint Riquier* (V^e siècle—1104). Publiée par FERDINAND LOT, ancien ÉLÈVE DE L'ÉCOLE DES CHARTES ET DES HAUTES ÉTUDES. Collection de Texte pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'Histoire. Paris: Alph. Picard et Fils. 1894.

THE chronicle of Hariulfus has hitherto been unfortunate. "Bouquet" gave only fragments; it was for him too local in character. "Pertz" has regarded it (why it would be hard to say) as outside his range. And so it has come about that until M. F. Lot's edition there was nothing better than the text originally printed from an indifferent copy, by Dacheri in 1665, the improved text in the second edition of the "*Spicilegium*," and Migne's reprint. Meantime the autograph manuscript, which contained a highly curious view of the abbey in the eighth century, has been burnt.

Centules, or as it was afterwards called from the founder, Saint Riquier, the history of which is narrated by Hariulfus, was one of those monasteries founded more or less under Irish influence, in which through the action, direct or indirect, of Luxeuil, the Benedictine rule was introduced alongside of Irish observance and very soon superseded it. The greatness of the house really begins in the later years of the eighth century with the abbacy of Angilbert, the friend and intimate of Charlemagne, who may be said in a way, and after the fashion somewhat of that court, to have been his son-in-law. By Angilbert the monastery was raised to a pitch of splendour almost unrivalled; and in the generation or so following his death it becomes an interesting example of a "royal abbey," and its "abbats" are to be traced in the most curious manner through the genealogical tree of the imperial family. The fourth and last book is mainly concerned with the history of the house in the eleventh century, with which the author or men whom he knew had personal acquaintance. A second book, devoted to Angilbert's administration, is of the highest interest, from the authentic documents drawn up by that abbat himself which are embodied in it; so the fourth abounds with curious and authentic notices, illustrative of contemporary manners.

One or two of these incidents concern England, where Abbat

Gervinus I. (1045–1071) had been received with favour by “Het-guardus, king of the English,” who was most bountiful to him and his monastery in all their need. Hariulf records an anecdote of Queen Edith, daughter of Earl Godwin, not recorded in the contemporary *Life of St. Edward* by an adherent and panegyrist of the Queen’s family. One day, it was at a time when Gervinus was new to English manners and customs, coming to court on his own beneficial interests intent, the Queen, “Edith by name,” tendered him the customary kiss of salutation and peace. Gervinus started back shocked, but only to be the more astonished by the way in which the Queen took it—as a downright insult. To her it was the case of a Queen being spurned by a monk; and she withdrew the presents ready at hand and destined for him. St. Edward, by his education and long residence abroad acquainted with foreign ways, hastened to explain to the Queen that to Gervinus it appeared a question of morals not of manners. Edith seized the situation, and thus enlightened was easily pacified, and gave Gervinus a superb amice marvellously adorned with gold and precious stones. The chronicler adds that she now animadverted on the singular want of delicacy on the part of the bishops and abbats, her own countrymen, and was highly edified at Gervinus. This is the chronicler’s gloss, which may or may not be correct; where edification is concerned, a person brought up in one atmosphere is so often wrong as to the real impressions derived by those who are brought up in another. It may be as well to add a word or two further on the fate of the amice. “The abbat brought it home and laid it up in the treasury of our Church.” But the diocesan, Guido, Bishop of Amiens (who is connected with England as the author of the versified narrative “*De Proelio Hastingsensi*”), was so delighted with it when he saw it, that nothing would do but he must have it; the affair was arranged; the bishop carried off the amice and the abbat took in exchange for it two good parish churches of the bishops and their dues. History does not record whether Queen Edith ever heard of the transaction, and whether she was edified by it; but the chronicler has taken care to insert in his book the bishop’s charter, from which it may really be gathered that he was at the time in a very good temper.

Another incident that is related occurred when already “Het-guardus, king of the English, having happily run his course through this mortal life, has passed, as it is believed, into eternal glory.” It gives from the lips or the pen of an eyewitness a scene such as must have occurred over and over again in the years immediately succeeding the battle of Hastings, but which is hardly to be found elsewhere

recorded. It was in the second year of the reign of William of Normandy, and Abbat Gervinus wished to obtain from the Conqueror confirmation of the gifts obtained if not from, at least in the reign of, the Confessor, and certainly by his favour and patronage; * also the abbat desired to survey those goodly bits of property which he had picked up among us. So he started for the coast and came to "the place the country folk call Guizant" (Wissant); arrived, he found plenty of companions for his passage: "there were more than a hundred abbats and monks, besides a host of military men and bagmen" (*plurima multitudo militarium virorum et negotiatorum*). All were in a hurry to be off, for beyond was the prize; and then, as at a date nearer our own times, one emphatic if not strictly grammatical expression summed up the feelings which our land inspired: "Oh! what for plunder!" The motley company got on board, but then, as now, there was, as a mere preliminary, a difficulty in the way that was the cause of much sinking of heart:

It was then the month of February, and as usual the wind blew a very hurricane; the rain drenched the traveller or the snow blinded him. The sea raged furiously and continued without abatement. Fifteen days passed and still there was no sign of abatement of the tempest; we despaired of being able to embark again; moreover our stock of provisions ran low, and we could remain waiting no longer.

So the company made up their minds to return ignominiously home. How Gervinus helped himself and all out of their troubles may be read in the chronicle at length. Suffice it to say that he offered one great wax torch to the archangel Michael, one to St. Nicholas (an interesting early instance of this cultus), and a third he reserved and destined for St. Margaret the Martyr to be offered the saint in "a church which she possessed on the other side of the water." The next day they all passed over on a calm and tranquil sea, "and disembarking from their ships they seek the church of the aforesaid martyr, and having given thanks and offered the torch, they all disperse, and each man (as if to make up now for lost time) hurried off, *velox*, each on his own concern." Gervinus obtained his charter of confirmation from William. Hariulf preserves its text, and highly curious it is, describing as it does a pretty bit of typography very useful for comparison of Domesday Book. As M. Lot can only say

* Freeman ("Norman Conquest," vol. ii. Appendix, note D) gives in full from Hariulf the anecdote as to Queen Edith, detailed above, and notes the original Lappenberg as being ignorant of it, and Thorpe's Lappenberg for inaccuracy. From the words which immediately follow, "Saint Riquier does not appear to have held lands in England in Eadward's time," it can only be gathered that Freeman cannot have read Hariulf himself.

that the places mentioned were "en Angleterre," it may be stated that the property acquired by St. Riquier, which was of considerable extent, lay in Norfolk. I have identified only Sculthorp, Pickenham, and one of the "Acres." The "Church of St. Margaret" is, there can be no reasonable doubt, the parish Church of King's Lynn, where some years later Herbert de Losinga, Bishop of Norwich, established a cell to his cathedral monastery. By the time of the Domesday Survey St. Riquier held in England only a small estate, newly acquired, it would seem, at Palgrave, and had disposed of all the rest, and at least spared an item in the long and diversified history of alien priories in England. The whole episode has been overlooked by local antiquaries and deserves a detailed investigation in the pages of the Norfolk archæology.

But it is time to turn to the new edition of the chronicle. M. Lot's *Introduction* of seventy pages is substantial; his recension of Hariulf's sources is thoroughly good, and without the generally distressing heaviness of the German preface of the same character. There are (as indicated below) a few reserves to make, of interest only to the very small number of persons concerned with the technicalities of work of this kind. The manuscript material available for constituting the text is poor; that, however, is not the fault of the editor, who has done the most that is possible with what exists; but in the account of the manuscripts (pp. lvii.-lxx.) he is wanting in clearness and might well imitate many a business-like German model. The annotations are fairly sufficient; and there are good appendices (as to No. vi. see below). Where so much care has evidently been taken and competence shown, the large array of "Additions et Corrections" (pp. 323-331) is really surprising; it would seem as though the book had at one time been pushed forward in a hurry; and when looked into closely there seems a much greater disparity between the knowledge possessed by the editor at the time when the first sheets were set in type and when the last pages of the preface were penned than is at all desirable. But even so, the edition as it stands may be pronounced a good one.

The highly curious "*Visio Karoli*" (lib. 2, c. 21), one of the series of politico-religious visions, which are, in fact, political squibs, was printed in 1851 in vol. i. of the "*Bibliophile Troyen*," from a Troyes MS. of the thirteenth century, by M. Gadan, who knew nothing of its occurrence in Hariulfus. As M. Lot has nothing else but late copies, a collation of the Troyes MS. would seem desirable. Gadan's is evidently an indifferent print, but it affords some good corrections of the print—e.g., *repausationis gratio cubitum* ("*Hariulf*," p. 145, l. 4); *avunculorum meorum* (l. 18); *et meos, dicentes* (p. 146, l. 15); *nunc tertius in imperio* (p. 147, l. 31). The occurrence of the *Visio* in a separate form, with a

text agreeing at least in some points with that in William of Malmesbury raises the question whether this latter really knew Hariulf at all, as is assumed by his editors, down to Dr. Liebermann and Bishop Stubbs.

Not knowing that M. Lot intended to print Angilbert's Ritual Ordinance or *Institutio* for St. Riquier, I myself printed it in the *Downside Review* just at the time when his volume was being actually issued; but I was unable to revise the proofs, and errors have crept in. Apart from one or two obvious slips, M. Lot's print requires the following corrections: p. 302, l. 26. insert *est* after *maxime*; p. 303, l. 22, for *In die* read *Inde*; p. 304, l. 26, after *vespertinos* insert *nocturnos atque matutinos*. I agree with the conclusions at which M. Lot has arrived, except on the following points: (1) I think he is certainly wrong in considering lib. ii. capp. 8-10 formed any part of the *Institutio*; cap. 11 very likely is part at least of a proem and c. 1. The missing chapters doubtless related to Christmas, Epiphany, Purification, and Lent (*cf.* the references, l. 6 of c. vi., and l. 20, 21 of c. vii.).

M. Lot seems to be too peremptory in asserting that the Gorz MS. was the source of both Hariulf and the Vatican MS. in what concerns Angilbert's memorials; he seems to have overlooked too Hariulf's statement (p. 69), which, though not clearly expressed, certainly seems to mean that he had copied them from the original document still extant and in a dilapidated state; and this is just the impression conveyed by the Vatican manuscript also.

E. B.

The Apostolic Gospel. With a Critical Reconstruction of the Text by J. FULTON BLAIR, B.D. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 15 Waterloo Place. 1896. Pp. 393.

SINCE the days of Eichhorn, the hypothesis of a "primitive gospel" has found favour with a certain school of biblical critics. This school at first maintained that the earliest gospel to appear was a very brief record in Aramaic, or Syro-Chaldaic of the words and deeds of Christ. This record, which was immediately translated into Greek, was read in all the churches. From time to time additions were made to this record, and it was in many ways altered and modified, with the result that, finally, three distinct and varying editions of this primitive gospel, or Ur-Evangelium, were in use in different parts of the Church. These varying editions of the primitive gospel are now known to us as the Gospels of SS. Matthew, Mark, and Luke. In one part of the Church it was held that St. Matthew, in another that St. Mark, in a third that St. Luke was the author of the primitive gospel. Finally the primitive gospel was lost sight of, and the three varying editions were assigned severally to SS. Matthew, Mark, and Luke as the inde-

pendent and original compositions of those writers. Such was, in its earliest stages, the hypothesis of the primitive gospel. There is perhaps no hypothesis more flagrantly at variance with historical tradition than the hypothesis we have just described. Not a single one of the ancient writers who treat of the origin of the gospels makes the slightest reference to a primitive gospel. On the contrary, they absolutely affirm that the authors of the gospels were Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. They even describe the circumstances in which the gospels were written by these authors, as do, *e.g.*, Johannes Presbyter, a contemporary of the Apostles, and Papias, with respect to the gospels of SS. Matthew and Mark, and Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Origen, with respect to all the gospels. Unless, then, we wish to contradict the clear witness of historical tradition, and compose hypotheses at will, we must regard Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John as the writers, and the original writers of the gospels, and dismiss the theory of the primitive gospel as a figment of the imagination. Nevertheless, this theory, though it has been much modified since Eichhorn's day, still has its supporters, and amongst them is Mr. Fulton. According to Mr. Fulton, the primitive gospel is found as one among many other elements contained in the four canonical gospels, and especially in the first and third. In the book under review our author is attempting to disentangle this hypothetical primitive document from its accretions, and to restore it to its original form. We have, we think, sufficiently indicated that an attempt of this kind must be unsuccessful. But while we regard Mr. Fulton's attempt as a failure, we must at the same time give him credit for considerable acuteness and ingenuity.

St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen. By W. M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D., Professor of Humanity, Aberdeen, &c. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row. 1895. Pp. 394.

TILL quite recently "Higher Criticism" had thoroughly convinced itself that the "Acts of the Apostles" was a composition of the second century, and that its author consciously misrepresented facts to make them fall into line with his own opinion upon the Church questions of his time. This theory was based on the supposition that the record of historical events contained in the "Acts" was not only inaccurate but also impregnated by second century ideas. In endeavouring to establish this supposition, "Higher Criticism" displayed a misapprehension of Roman history which Professor Ramsay well cha-

racterises as "astonishing." Professor Ramsay was, indeed, himself at one time an advocate of the Tübingen theory. It was once, as he informs us, a "fixed idea" with him that the "Acts" was a second century composition. But he has now completely discarded this position. He can now write with confidence, "All such theories belong to the pre-Mommsenian epoch of Roman history: they are now impossible for a rational and educated critic; and they hardly survive except in popular magazines and novels of the semi-religious order." In the work under review, Professor Ramsay undertakes to prove that the "Acts" was written by an historian of the very first rank; one who set himself to record facts as they actually occurred; a strong partisan indeed, but "raised above partiality by his perfect confidence that he had only to describe facts as they occurred, in order to make the truth of Christianity and the honour of Paul apparent." Our author further undertakes to prove that the "Acts" was written by a personal friend and disciple of St. Paul, and he maintains that if this be once established there can be no hesitation in accepting the primitive tradition which ascribes the authorship to St. Luke. Professor Ramsay has completely succeeded in his task, and has produced a book which, with certain reservations which will be at once apparent to any Catholic reader of the work, we can heartily recommend. The book is full of serious history, but so graphically is it written that it reads as lightly as a romance.

Outlines of Dogmatic Theology. By SYLVESTER JOSEPH HUNTER, of the Society of Jesus. Vol. III. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1896. Pp. 495.

WITH this volume Fr. Hunter brings to a conclusion his extremely useful "Outlines of Dogmatic Theology." The present volume, which treats of grace, justification, and the sacraments in general, the sacraments in particular, and the last things, is characterised by the distinctness of statement and cogency of argument which were among the conspicuous merits of the preceding volumes. The present volume discusses, of necessity, many points that are controverted amongst Catholic theologians. But Fr. Hunter is much too practical to devote much space to mere controversy. When, however, he does enter the lists his arguments are well worth consideration. Thus, when defending the *moral* causation of the sacraments he argues ingeniously, as follows:

It is certain that the sacrament of matrimony is received when two fit persons enter into the Christian contract of marriage; also, it is certain

that this contract, like other contracts, may be entered into by the agency of procurators, in the absence of the parties. The rite, therefore, is the expression of the consents by the procurators, and it is against all conceptions that we can form of the nature of physical causation to suppose that this rite physically causes grace in the absent and unconscious parties. There is no difficulty in the way of attributing to it a power of moral causation, by which it moves the will of God, inclining Him to give the grace, for the absence of the parties from the scene of the ceremony is no hindrance to this divine action (p. 194).

Here, as in the earlier volumes, Fr. Hunter occasionally introduces points which are full of interest, yet are not usually discussed in manuals of theology. A subject of this nature introduced into the present volume is that of Anglican Orders. Fr. Hunter's concluding paragraph on this matter is well worth quotation—

Doubts were raised as to the validity of the Elizabethan ordinations on other grounds besides those which we have mentioned; there is, for instance, strong ground for questioning the sufficiency of the intention of the consecrators. But enough has been said to explain the conduct of Rome in this matter. Rome has constantly for centuries treated it as certain that the Anglican clergy have no orders; if they wish to be recognised as Catholic priests they must be ordained, without any condition. We must conclude either that Rome believes Anglican orders to be certainly invalid, or that the Roman authorities have for centuries systematically countenanced a series of sacrileges (pp. 386, 387).

We trust that Fr. Hunter's work will have a wide circulation. Few could read the "Outlines" without profit, and to many they will come as an astounding revelation of the majestic symmetry of Catholic theology.

Christ in Type and Prophecy. By Rev. A. J. MAAS, S.J., Professor of Oriental Languages in Woodstock College, Md. Vol. II. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, Printers to the Holy Apostolic See. 1896. Pp. 500.

MIRACLES and prophecies are the signature which God has attached to revelation in order that its divine character may be distinctly recognised. The prophecy argument for the divine origin of Christianity runs as follows:—God cannot testify to what is false. But God has by means of the Messianic prophecies testified to the divinity and the divine mission of Jesus. Consequently, Jesus had a divine mission and nature. If the premises are correct the conclusion follows of necessity. The major premise which assumes the existence of God and His essential attributes is a truth which is known by the light of reason. The minor premise involves three statements: (1)

That there have been real Messianic predictions; (2) that these Messianic predictions are true prophecies; (3) that they were employed by God in confirmation of the divine mission and nature of Jesus. Fr. Maas, in his very learned work on "Christ in Type and Prophecy," establishes this minor premise with such force and cogency that we regard his book as one of the very ablest apologies for Christianity that we know. In the first volume, after a lengthy and most erudite introduction, in which he discusses the history and form of the prophecy-argument, the general diffusion of Messianic prophecy, the name and nature of the prophets, the prophetic office, and the writings of the prophets, he examines the prophecies bearing on the genealogy, birth, infancy, and names of the Messias. In the second volume he examines the prophecies as to the offices, public life, sufferings and glory of the Messias; and where fitting opportunity occurs he introduces and discusses types of the Messias.

La Faculté de Théologie de Paris. Par L'ABBÉ P. FERET. Moyen-Age. Tome Troisième. Paris: A. Picard et Fils, 82 Rue Bonaparte. 1896. Pp. 669.

THE "Reformers" refused to recognise the authority of the scholastic writers. They had as little respect for the giants of the Middle Ages as they had for the fathers of the early Church. The reason is not far to seek. From the scholastics as from the fathers their systems met with nothing but condemnation in advance. Catholic theologians were constrained to meet the "Reformers" with the weapons chosen by the latter. Hence the study of the scholastics became generally neglected. The enemy of the present time is less a false theology than a false philosophy. Scholasticism, in consequence, is coming once more to the front. But while the study of the leading scholastic writers is again renewed little is known of the distinguished but less prominent scholastics. In this work, the third volume of which has now appeared, M. Feret is attempting to remove this defect. We must say that we regard his attempt as a very successful one. He writes with fulness and, so far as we can judge, with accuracy. The numerous references sufficiently show the careful study he has given to his subject. He does not criticise the writings, but in an easy flowing style he presents us with pleasing biographies of the writers. We wish his book success.

Regeneration ; a Reply to Max Nordau. Westminster : Archibald Constable & Co. 1895. Pp. 315.

WE should not ourselves have thought that Max Nordau's "Degeneration" ought to be taken seriously. Such, however, is not the opinion of an anonymous author who, in the book which lies before us, undertakes its elaborate refutation. He questions Nordau's theory, and he questions the arguments which Nordau advances in support of that theory. He regards "Degeneration" as a purely subjective work, and as the outcome of prejudice rather than of cool reasoning. He maintains that the book, though professedly written from a cosmopolitan standpoint, sufficiently betrays the fact that its writer is a German, a Jew, an enemy of France, one that may have a large acquaintance with books but has certainly only a small acquaintance with men. We need not follow our anonymous author in his defence of Ibsen, Tolstoi, and Wagner against the onslaughts of Max Nordau. Assuming, as we do, that "Degeneration" is of very little interest to our readers, it would be useless to attempt to excite their interest in its counterblast, "Regeneration."

Catholic Doctrine and Discipline simply Explained. By PHILIP BOLD. Revised, and in part edited by Father EYRE, S.J. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited. 1896. Pp. 340.

MR. BOLD presents us with a plain simple exposition of the teaching of the Church with respect to the articles of the Creed, the commandments of God and the Church, grace, prayer, the sacraments, the sacramentals, and adds some account of the ritual observed in the celebration of mass, and in the administration of the various sacraments. In form the book is everything that could be desired. The paper is good, the type is excellent, and each paragraph has its marginal heading, which serves at once to arrest attention and to facilitate the grasping of the doctrine as a whole. If the treatise is to reach a second edition, as we trust it will, Mr. Bold will do well to revise the first sentence of his paragraph on "Mental Restrictions" (p. 160), and in his paragraph on "Baptism by Desire" (p. 216), to make it clear that the *implicit* desire for baptism is sufficient.

The Mystery of the Cross ; Eight Addresses on the Atonement. By the Rev. WINFRID O. BURROWS, M.A., Principal of Leeds Clergy School. London : Rivington, Percival & Co. 1896. Pp. 227.

MR. BURROWS is of opinion that the Church has never formulated any exact statement of the doctrine of the Atonement ; that different and even, in part, contradictory theories on this most momentous subject have been held by men whom the Church regards as orthodox ; that again and again statements of the doctrine are put before us which we hesitate either to accept or reject, that even when we are dealing with sinners needing conversion we are often at a loss from not knowing quite what to say, what to expect, what to hope for. Thoughts like these, our author informs us, led first to the composition, and now to the publication, of these eight addresses. We need not point out that Mr. Burrows is an Anglican clergyman.

The Monastic Life from the Fathers of the Desert to Charlemagne. Eighth volume of the Formation of Christendom. By THOMAS W. ALLIES, K.C.S.G. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited, Paternoster House, Charing Cross Road. 1896. Pp. 382.

THAT Mr. Allies deserves well of English-speaking Catholics, and not of them only, but of dispassionate historical students all the world over, no one who has any acquaintance with his magnificent work will for one moment doubt. The "Monastic Life" is the latest addition to the monumental series, which for accuracy and fulness, philosophic grasp and beauty of style, has not been surpassed, and indeed is hardly equalled by any historical work in our language. It may be said that Newman's "Historical Sketches" are in their way unapproachable ; undoubtedly they are, but the historical work of Newman was supplemental and incidental ; and as such it was necessarily fragmentary. The historical work of Mr. Allies is, on the other hand, primary as the outcome of his intellectual life ; it is in itself a single whole, having the "See of Peter" as its centre ; its parts are intimately interconnected, each of them describing a fresh phase in the development of the earlier history of the Church, or, as he happily terms it, the Formation of Christendom. In the "Monastic Life" he depicts the evolution of the initial principle of monasticism from the *vita communis* of the early Church, portrays its development

as carrying on the higher life of the Church, and shows it to us as antidotal to the worldliness, pagan, saracenic, or christian of all ages. Further, he gives with no uncertain sound the mind of the Church on monasticism as mirrored in the pages of the Fathers and Doctors, and above all in the decrees of the Holy See. This and much more than this we gather from nine chapters of entrancing interest which treat respectively of the Fathers of the Desert; the Monastic Life in the Fourth Century; the Force of the Monastic Life; the Blessing of St. Benedict; St. Patrick and St. Augustine; how the monks made England; three nuns of Odin's race; St. Boniface, Apostle of Germany; and, finally, the Holy See from Attila to Charlemagne. Prominent among the points set forth in masterly fashion by Mr. Allies is the contrast between the antagonistic forces of Monasticism and Mohammedanism.

The Caliphs of Mohammed recognised in the monk, not only the professor and practiser of the faith which they most opposed, but the manner of life the most hostile to their own example and practice. The founder of their misbelief had shown this abhorrence in all his conduct, and all those who owned him for their prophet derived from him a relentless persecution in both sexes of the life which consists in a special imitation of Christ, (p. 293).

They followed with peculiar hatred and laboured destruction religious houses, both male and female, in the East, exactly in those seventy years when the children of St. Benedict and St. Columban were planting them in the West, (p. 346).

Against them (the sensual morals and the despotism of Mohammed) the rule of St. Gregory in the race trained and cultivated by Benedict had formed an adequate and enduring rampart. The Mohammedan flood swept without pausing from Cæsarea . . . over the Egypt of the Desert Fathers, and over St. Augustine's Africa to the extreme West. . . . The Teuton as a Benedictine was kept in reserve against the Saracen and voluptuary; the monastery in the west, over the great realms of Gaul to its utmost northern limit, and Britain to Edinburgh, left the harem to a degenerate East. . . . The two forms of life showed themselves, on the one side in Charlemagne, on the other in Haroun Alraschid (pp. 368-9).

Of still greater interest to us who are natives of those islands of the western waters evangelised directly from Rome by St. Patrick and St. Augustine, are the chapters in which we read how England and Ireland were converted, and, in the best senses of the term, "made" by monasticism.

These two conversions, of Ireland under St. Patrick in the fifth century . . . and of England in the seventh century under St. Augustine . . . and his successors . . . , are conversions like none which preceded them in the history of the Church, (p. 203).

The general assumption of this (the *Common Life*) by the Northern invaders in France and Spain, and Italy, and then in Britain, helped by the devoted Irish race, and lastly in Germany, from the time of the

Anglo-Saxon Boniface, I count to be the basis on which Europe has been built; and as Benedict the Roman was the great builder, so Gregory the Roman inspired and blessed the building, (pp. 350-1).

The "Blessing of St. Benedict" made Catholic England and France and Germany. To these countries and to others converted by their monks and nuns came civilisation and permanent civil status in direct consequence of conversion. Well may it be said, therefore, that the "Blessing of St. Benedict" was in a true sense the making of Christian Europe. Did space permit we should call attention in the words of Mr. Allies to the large share taken by Teuton women in the works of conversion and monachising. But we must content ourselves now with the expression of the hope that "The Monastic Life" will be widely read, that the years of Mr. Allies' literary labour may be prolonged, and that this may not be the last work we shall welcome from the mature mind of the veteran author of the "Formation of Christendom."

A New Natural Theology based upon the Doctrine of Evolution. By Rev. J. MORRIS, M.A., formerly Fellow of the University of Durham. London: Rivington, Percival & Co., King Street, Covent Garden. 1896. Pp. 347.

MR. MORRIS has very little sympathy with the arguments ordinarily advanced in favour of "design." Accepting as he does the doctrine of evolution, he informs us that the true method of procedure is to clear the mind of all idea of design, and follow the teaching of evolution whithersoever it may lead. Paley's analogy of the watch he casts aside as not apposite to the facts of the case. The attempts that have been made in recent years to restate Paley's argument he treats with little respect. The Bampton lectures of 1884 he charges with turning things upside down by calling upon evolution to answer at the bar of Paleyism instead of summoning Paleyism to answer at the bar of evolution. Janet's doctrine of final causes he declares to be unsatisfactory and open to the weighty objection that if adaptations be in themselves evidence of a final cause, it is impossible to reconcile with the wisdom and power of God the waste of life and the existence of parasites. But it must not be inferred from this that our author finds no evidence of purpose in the universe. On the contrary, he maintains that the bare fact of an evolution in which interdependent organisations are established in accordance with a primary and persistent form of organisation makes a teleology of some kind imperative. It would be impossible in a short notice to indicate

the process by which Mr. Morris attempts to erect a system of natural theology on the basis of evolution. We must content ourselves with saying that, while we are strongly of opinion that the book will be of but little use in forwarding the good cause which Mr. Morris evidently has at heart, "A New Natural Theology" is a work which could have been written only by a very able and a very well-read man.

The Christian's Model ; or, Sermons on the Life and Death of Christ. By the Rev. FRANCIS HUNOLT. Translated from the original German edition by the Rev. I. ALLEN, D.D., Queens-town, South Africa. Vol. I. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Brothers. 1895. Pp. 484.

IT is much more easy to find a volume of essays that is consistently good throughout than to find a volume of discourses that is consistently good throughout. Possibly the reason of this may be that the discourses have been delivered orally before they were printed and the essays have not. In the case of public speaking, unless the audience happens to be unusually critical and unusually well-informed, at least as much depends upon the manner of delivery as upon the matter that is delivered. A speech, excellent in itself, may lose its effect from an awkward delivery ; and a speech, commonplace in itself, may meet with applause from a graceful delivery. The speaker will often ascribe to a supposed excellence of matter a success which was really due to nothing more than an excellence of manner. He prints his speeches, confident that his words will prove as effective when read as they were when delivered. But his confidence is vain. The mere dead words stripped of the grace of voice, manner, and bearing, which gave life, energy, and charm to them when they were delivered, look stale, flat, and unprofitable. The essayist is free from this danger. The personality of the writer will indeed, at times, lend an interest to the writing ; but, speaking generally, the success of the essayist depends on what he writes and how he writes, and he writes with full knowledge of this. What has been said of printed speeches is in some degree true of printed sermons. Many a preacher who has been heard with pleasure has been afterwards read with little satisfaction. Whether Fr. Hunolt had or had not excellence as a speaker we have no means of deciding. But that he possessed the greater excellence which belongs to a good sermon writer the volume under notice sufficiently proves. If, indeed, we seek brilliancy of style or depth of thought we must go elsewhere. But, if we can

rest content with honest, straightforward solid speech on the subjects which most of all ought to interest us, we shall find much to satisfy us in the sermons of Fr. Hunolt.

The Theory of Knowledge: A Contribution to some Problems of Logic and Metaphysics. By L. T. HOBHOUSE, Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. London: Methuen and Co., 36 Essex Street, W.C. 1896.

MUCH as we dissent from many of Mr. Hobhouse's conclusions we are bound to confess that the "Theory of Knowledge" is a very able, and what, perhaps, makes it more useful still, a very stimulating work. It cannot, indeed, be regarded as strictly speaking an original work. Our author is, as he cheerfully confesses, a borrower on a large scale. But if he borrows he does not borrow blindly. He expresses acknowledgments to many, but he owns himself disciple to none. Of living writers Mr. Bosanquet and Mr. Bradley would seem to be the two on whom he has most largely drawn. But if he often refers to them in terms of graceful acknowledgment, he no less frequently quotes them only to controvert what they have written. On these latter occasions our agreement is often rather with Mr. Bosanquet and Mr. Bradley than with our author. Thus we regard their presentation of Mill's system of inference as a far truer presentation than that of Mr. Hobhouse. We agree with their presentation and we agree with their strictures. And we are convinced that our author's defence of Mill is based on a false assumption as to Mill's real position. We may here express surprise that in a work into which the philosophy of Mill so largely enters, such little reference should be made to the late Dr. W. G. Ward. Mr. Hobhouse is, of course, free to think with Mill rather than to think with Ward. But surely a philosopher whom Mill regarded as the most powerful opponent that ever entered the lists against him has claims on his serious attention. And yet of Dr. Ward there is scarcely any mention. Evidently this is a very serious defect in Mr. Hobhouse's work. That the "Theory of Knowledge" will reach a second edition is a matter open to question. The demand for philosophical literature is not very great in this country. But should the book reach a second edition we trust that this defect will be remedied. Anyone that pleases may champion Mill. But no one can honestly champion Mill before he has disposed of Ward. Mr. Hobhouse is what we should consider sound on many points of momentous interest. We are in full sympathy with him when he argues that the content of apprehension

is a primary datum for knowledge, or that space perceptions are not evolved from non-spatial perceptions, or that the world of knowledge is a world of reality consisting partly of mental phenomena, partly of an order external to the knowing subject and not dependent for its existence on the knowing subject. But elsewhere our convictions are as fully against him. But even when we dissent from Mr. Hobhouse we can always read him with pleasure. And if we look in vain throughout his work for the clearness of statement which constitutes one of the charms of scholastic writers, his style is at least free from that laboured effort after unintelligibility which is the characteristic of modern philosophical literature.

The Philosophy of Thomas Hill Green. By W. H. FAIRBROTHER, M.A., Lecturer in Philosophy at Lincoln College, Oxford. London: Methuen and Co., 36, Essex Street, Strand. 1896. Pp. 187.

THE philosophical mind of the late T. H. Green is usually regarded as somewhat inaccessible. It is understood that he had some message to the world of which he wished to get himself delivered; but the precise import of this message is, to the uninitiated, not altogether clear. On the other hand many who studied under the guidance of the famous Oxford professor are convinced that Green was, if not the creator, at least the eloquent exponent of an all comprehensive system of philosophy which stands proof against the onslaughts of materialism. Mr. W. H. Fairbrother would seem to be one of those who fell under the spell of Green's personal influence, and the disciple would now repay some share of the debt which he acknowledges to his master. Mr. Fairbrother admits that to ordinary minds Green can scarcely be reckoned as easy reading. Accordingly he takes on himself the task of interpreting Green. He endeavours, with such degree of success as in the circumstances is obtainable, to present a simple, plain exposition of Green's philosophical system. He hopes that in this way students at Oxford and elsewhere may gain some insight into the teaching of his master. He is convinced that with insight will come appreciation, the desire for fuller acquaintance, and the wish to study Green at first hand. That the "Philosophy of Thomas Hill Green" will have this effect is, we think, improbable. But our author is, at least, entitled to the credit of having performed in a conscientious and careful manner the task he had set himself.

L'Auxiliaire du Catéchiste: Dictionnaire des mots du Catéchisme présentés en tableaux synoptiques. Avec approbation de l'Ordinaire. Avignon: Auvance Frères, Libraires-Editeurs, pp. 386.

THIS little book ought to be of some use to catechists. It defines the more important words of the catechism, but it rarely contents itself with a mere definition. What is said under a single word often provides the order and suggests the matter for a complete instruction. Thus under the head "Absolution" we find the following division and treatment of the subject: (1) The nature of absolution. (2) The power to give absolution. (3) The effects of absolution. (4) The dispositions for receiving absolution. (5) The form of absolution. It is certainly a useful work.

La Crise Religieuse en Angleterre. Par le PÈRE RAGEY, Mariste. Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, Rue Bonaparte, 90. 1896. Pp. 305.

WE confess we opened this book with some apprehensions, fearing that we might find here, as in certain similar works that have lately appeared in France, a lofty disregard for unwelcome truths, and a somewhat scanty knowledge of historical facts, joined to an unbounded confidence in optimistic dreams. But we were most agreeably undeceived; true it is that the learned and pious Marist (who is well known to our readers by his "Life of St. Anselm") looks forward with hopefulness to a future corporate reunion of the Establishment with the Catholic Church; but he does so without in any way shutting his eyes to the grave obstacle which makes such a consummation seem, at present at least, impossible. Indeed, he dwells on these obstacles at some length, analysing them with much acumen. At the same time he shows that the grounds for hope are by no means few, and directs us to Him in whose hands are the hearts and wills of men, and to whom nothing is impossible. Believing firmly that prayer is suppliant omnipotence, he urges on his fellow-countrymen to pray without ceasing for England, and does not hesitate to assert that the future of our country rests in the hands of the Catholic episcopate; for if they will only urge on their flocks the duty of united prayer, the clouds will disperse before the rays of the Sun of Truth, and England will be brought back to the Church.

In some interesting chapters he gives a brief but vivid sketch of

the unparalleled greatness of the British Empire, of the world-wide sway of the English language (which he expects to become the universal tongue), and then points out that so vast a phenomenon can only be accounted for by some great and secret design of God's providence; he traces the extraordinary religious movement in England, and asks if this people is not chosen by God to extend His kingdom throughout the world? The Salvation Army, with its five million adherents, recruited in the course of a few years, shows that all that is needed for the conversion of the multitude is "a grace yet more abundant, a yet more powerful impulse of the Divine Spirit, and a Catholic Booth." At the same time, the English character, so slow to form new ideas, so inconsistent and illogical in following out conclusions, the Protestant spirit which rejoices in independence, and scouts submission to authority, the ignorance of theology so prevalent among the clergy (in whose good faith and sincerity he entirely believes), the prejudices so rooted in the people's minds, are terrible obstacles to the longed-for conversion. The cardinal error of Anglicans is, as he says, to believe that their Church is a part of the true Church of Christ, and unfortunately they do not read the works of English Catholics which expose and refute their errors.

But their good faith and loyalty, the generous way in which they have received the Holy Father's encyclical, the extraordinary change which is passing over public opinion, give ample ground for hope. Our author thinks that English Catholics are naturally enough influenced more by the difficulties which they see and hear around them than by the invisible forces which are working towards the union, and so are apt to be unduly desponding. Perhaps the French are apt to be too hopeful, but after all is not that a more satisfactory state of mind? In any case, all will agree that the author is right in deprecating harsh and acrimonious controversy, and pleading for mutual explanations. He would desire the Anglican bishops officially to seek for such explanations from the Holy See itself: and he quotes a beautiful letter from St. Gregory the Great (to whom he aptly compares our present Pontiff), begging two schismatic bishops to come to him, that they might discuss together the differences that separated them.

The book is quite up to date, and we cordially recommend it to our readers. Perhaps we may learn something from our French brethren, and that is always to speak of those outside the Church with the same generous charity, and with the same unstinting admiration for what is good and praiseworthy in them. It is so easy to criticise, to sneer, to be satirical; but when did such language ever win souls? Père Ragey, we may note, sent his work to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in reply, protested against the epithet "*injurieux*," which is applied to

his pastoral letter in answer to Leo XIII. The author has, therefore, fully retracted this expression; and, indeed, throughout his work he is most careful, while fully pointing out the errors of Anglicans, to speak of them with a generous affection which must win their hearts.

Life of Francis Xavier, Apostle of the Indies. By MARY HALL McCLEAN. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 192 pp. 8vo.

THERE was room for a short biography of St. Francis Xavier in English. That of Father Coleridge, though as interesting as it is complete, to some readers seems, on the contrary, too complete to be interesting, and its length is certainly formidable. The authoress of this little volume does not appear to have been a Catholic, yet not only was she full of enthusiasm for the saintly missionary, but even for St. Ignatius and his wonderful band of followers. There is nothing in the book to offend a Catholic; and if we consider it as selections from the Saint's admirable letters, with introductions and explanations, it may safely be recommended to Catholic readers. But as a complete sketch of St. Francis' life it is wanting in many respects. The miraculous is more prominent in his history than in that of most saints; and as here it is omitted almost entirely, or suggested, or slurred over, the picture of the saint's missionary labours and successes cannot be thought adequate.

Italy and Her Invaders. By THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L. Vol. V., The Lombard Invasion; Vol. VI., The Lombard Kingdom. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1895. Pp. xxi.—484, and xvii.—635.

MR. HODGKIN'S monumental work is too well known and too highly esteemed to need further words of commendation from us. The two volumes before us, however, practically form a work by themselves—a History of the Lombards—and are of so important and so deeply interesting a character that we reserve them for fuller treatment later on in the form of an article. As they are provided with an excellent index, and even a vocabulary of the few Lombard words which have come down to us, they leave nothing to be desired in the way of completeness and adequacy. To Catholics the fifth volume is especially interesting as it contains a remarkably careful and sympathetic biography of St. Gregory I., "the greatest of the Roman pontiffs," and

the apostle of the two sister Germanic races, the Anglo-Saxons and the Lombards.

The Book of the Secrets of Enoch. Translated from the Slavonic. By W. R. MORFILL, M.A., Edited, &c., by R. H. Charles, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1895. Pp. xlvii.—100.

WE are indebted to Messrs. Morfill and Charles for this very interesting addition to the "apocalyptic" literature which in various ages and places has produced works as different and yet as like as the Book of Arda-i Viraf, the visions of St. Brendan and Tundal, and the Divine Comedy of Dante. The "Book of the Secrets of Enoch" has come down to us only in a Slavonic version of the original Hebrew or Ethiopic, and this has been carefully and literally translated by our "only Slavonic scholar," Mr. Morfill, whilst the excellent notes and commentary are supplied by his colleague, Mr. Charles. The entire volume deserves high praise for its accurate scholarship and its completeness. The curious derivation of the various elements of the human frame—flesh, blood, eyes, bones, thoughts, veins and hair, and spirit—from portions of the material universe, earth, dew, the sun, stone, clouds, grass, and wind, respectively—in c. xxx. § 8, is singularly suggestive of the *exactly opposite* derivation in certain Sanskrit and Pehlevi traditions, wherein natural substances are derived from portions of a human person; (see letter by Dr. L. C. Casartelli, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 202–203, 1895). The parallelism can hardly be accidental.

Names and their Histories, Alphabetically Arranged as a Handbook. By ISAAC TAYLOR, M.A., Litt. D. London: Rivington, Percival and Co. 1896. Pp. v.—392.

TAYLOR'S "Words and Places" is an old favourite, but this is practically an entirely new work, and is so excellently well done that, after careful examination, we can give it unqualified praise. It is not only the carefully compiled and very accurate glossary which makes it of great practical use, but special praise must be given to the interesting and suggestive "Prologue," and to the seven learned appendices, treating specially of Indian, Turkish, Magyar, Slavonic, and German nomenclature, and of French and English village names. It would be a difficult task to compress more ample and more accurate information in the compass of 400 small pages.

Atlas Scripturae Sacrae. Decem Tabulae Geographicae cum Indice Locorum, &c., Auctore, Dr. RICH. V. RIESS. · Friburgi Brisgoviae, sumptibus Herder. 1896. Fol.

WE need do no more than say that this is a Latin edition of the well-known and excellent Scripture Atlas of Dr. von Riess, which is indispensable to every student of Holy Scripture. The beauty of its plates and the completeness of the appended gazetteer speak for themselves. The price is only 5 marks in paper and 6 marks 20 pf. in linen binding.

Napoléon III. avant l'Empire. Tome Second. Par H. THIRRIA. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1895.

THE first volume of this very interesting work consisted of a description of the life of Louis Napoleon, from his birth to his election as President of the French Republic; the second continues it to his further election as President for a definite period of ten years. In some respects the present volume treats of more important political issues than the first; but its subject does not afford the same variety of scene, incident, and personal portraiture as that of its predecessor. The author shows equal skill in either of these bulky *tomes*, and in each case the enormous quantity of newspaper-extract, although exceedingly valuable, well selected, and admirably illustrative, is somewhat wearying to the ordinary reader. One feature of this journalistic evidence is particularly striking, and that is the great importance obviously attached by the author to the opinion of the English press. The criticisms on French policy in other foreign newspapers is little noticed; yet constant and copious quotations are given, not from only one or two English journals, but from many. The question irresistibly presents itself whether an English author, in writing the life of a political character in this country, would be likely to bring criticisms from French periodicals into equal prominence.

One of the most interesting portions of the second volume is that which deals with the action of Louis Napoleon in sending troops to re-establish the temporal power, when Pope Pius IX. had fled to Gaeta, after the assassination of Rossi. This proceeding was violently condemned by the French Radicals; on the other hand, Louis Napoleon offended good Catholics by stating that he felt personally injured because the Papal Government had made no concessions to liberalism, on being re-established in Rome. The *Times*, however, with true British "moderation," expressed its pleasure at both the revolutionists

and the legitimists being disappointed. Long descriptions are given of the quasi-royal progresses throughout the provinces, by which Napoleon III. made himself known and popular throughout the country, as well as of the reviews and efforts for its welfare by which he sought the favour and support of the army. At a time when there was an outcry in certain journals against the dangers of the President's alarming increase of power, Louis Veuillot, in the *Univers*, declared him to be the only refuge at the moment from socialism, ruin, and chaos. Montalembert stated his opinion that it would be a happy thing for France if it could obtain a period of ten years' repose, and the country confirmed it by electing Louis Napoleon as its President for exactly that length of time. The latter part of the volume, which tells the story of the exasperation of the Assembly, the calmness of the President, and the exciting events connected with the *coup d'état*, affords, as might be expected, very lively reading. Not the least interesting feature of this book, to the student of national character, will be its evidence of the enormous influence among the French people of popular cries in the streets and of ridicule in the tribune and in the newspapers.

Juifs et Catholiques en Autriche-Hongrie. A. KANNENGIESER.
Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1896.

IT is difficult for Englishmen to understand the intense antisemitism which largely prevails among Catholics on the Continent, especially in Austria. In Great Britain, the Jew is, as a rule, an excellent citizen, nor do his interests clash with those of the Catholic Church, as things stand at present in this country; and there is a tendency among English Catholics to consider the antisemitism of Continental Christians somewhat exaggerated. The little book entitled "*Juifs et Catholiques*" should do much to dispel this idea. Nothing attracts an Englishman so much as fairness, and this work is so far from being an unfair and savage attack upon the Jews that a very large part of it is not about Jews at all. It attributes the troubles of the Church in Austria quite as much to Josephism as to Judaism, and most of all to Josephism where it has been weak enough to lend itself, from interested motives, to the influence of Judaism. If the average English Catholic knows little about the antipathy of the Jews towards the Church in Austria, he probably knows still less about Josephism, and on that point also he may obtain very valuable information from this book. And it has been published at a very convenient time; for something constantly now appears in the newspapers about the

contest concerning the marriage-laws in Hungary, a matter which few English Catholics thoroughly understand. The author does not hesitate to speak his mind plainly with regard to the conduct of the present Emperor of Austria, when pressure was put upon him by the Jewish interest, which earned for him the nickname of the "Judenkaiser;" and he laments that, "in the capital of a Christian empire, in the city in which His Apostolic Majesty, with his head uncovered, follows the Blessed Sacrament in Procession," a Catholic Government—he might almost say a Clerical Government—should be at the mercy and the disposal of the Jewish press.

Not the least interesting pages of "*Juifs et Catholiques*" describe the life of the Abbé Brunner, one of the most noted opponents of Josephism and Semitism. Born in 1814 and dying in 1893, this champion of orthodoxy fought all comers in Austria throughout the greater part of the present century. He was an historian, a poet, a satirist, an editor of a journal, a traveller, and he was privately employed in France for diplomatic purposes by Metternich. He published more than sixty volumes, to say nothing of "thousands of articles" which he wrote for his journal. Ever ready to attack any authority, lay or ecclesiastical, when he thought it his duty to do so, he was within an ace of getting suspended. One does not expect to find much about England in a book on Austria-Hungary; nevertheless things English are mentioned at least twice in it. The Abbé Brunner, on one occasion, accused *The Times* of lying. On another, when ascending the Righi, he fell in with an Anglican Bishop, who was astonished to learn that Vienna was not in Hungary. When they passed before a Capuchin convent, the Bishop said "What ignorant people these monks are!" "Well, my lord," replied Brunner, "ask them where London is, and I am sure they will not be so ignorant as to say that it is in Scotland." After that the "évêque" addressed himself chiefly to "sa femme."

L'Insuffisance du Parallélisme prouvée sur la Préface du
 Si-iu-Ki contre M. G. Schlegel. Par A. GUELUY. Louvain:
 Istas. 1896. Pp. lvi.

THE subject of this learned *brochure* is of too special and intricate a nature to be treated of at length in these pages. Suffice it to say that the eminent sinologue of Leyden, Prof. Schlegel, some time ago, published a severe criticism of a new translation of the preface of the Chinese classic, the *Su-iu-Ki*, which had appeared from the pen

of Father Gueluy, a former missionary in China. The preface to the travels of the celebrated Buddhist pilgrim, Hieun-thsang, is one of the most difficult pieces of Chinese literature. Schlegel, in his trenchant *critique*, attacked the new translation attempted by the Belgian missionary as "fantastic and arbitrary," in a book of 203 pages, full of epithets of a character usual to irascible German scholars in their controversies. Father Gueluy shows that he is quite able to defend himself, and in the essay before us is able to give a very good account of his adversary, whose numerous errors and misrepresentations in translating Chinese texts are pitilessly exposed. The controversy is one for specialists, but it is quite clear that "unser grösster Sinologe" is not likely to have the last word, as Kühnert seems to think in the current number of the *Vienna Oriental Journal*.

The Life of Helen Lucretia Cornaro Piscopia. (St. Benedict's, Rome. 1896.)

THOUGH not written with any such object in view, this biography has an interesting bearing on what may be called one of the questions of the day—the admission of women to university degrees. Helen Lucretia Cornaro was born of a noble Venetian family in the middle of the seventeenth century, and from her earliest years she gave evidence alike of unusual piety and of those wonderful intellectual gifts that made her one of the most remarkable women who have ever lived. In her thirty-second year she was able to profess seven sciences and to speak and write in seven languages, including Hebrew and Greek; and after publicly expounding texts of Aristotle in the duomo of Padua, before a multitude of doctors and professors and learned men from all parts, she was elected doctor of philosophy in that university. The university dons of those days had apparently no objections to admitting a woman to a degree in philosophy; but when the question was mooted of her taking the doctorate in theology, difficulties were made, and before the point could be decided her health broke down. She died at the age of thirty-eight, having won a European reputation. There is an interesting account of a state visit paid her by the famous Cardinal Destrées, in the name of the King of Spain; she received a personal letter from Pope Innocent XI.; and after her death the University of Padua struck a medal in her honour.

The main interest of the *Life* lies in the circumstance that in this, probably the most remarkable instance of the highest intellectual

gifts in a woman being sedulously cultivated and used to their utmost capacity, severe study and the most cultured intellectualism appear not in the slightest degree to have dimmed her feminine grace and delicacy ; she was no amazon, but a woman gentle, modest, and loving to the end. The most pleasing pictures are given of her relations with her domestics, of her visiting the sick and the poor, and catechising peasants and children. Though her hand was sought by nobles and princes, she never married, having made a vow of chastity in her girlhood. Later she became a Benedictine oblate, and wore the habit and said the office, and tried, as far as was possible in her father's palace, to lead a life conformable to her state. Her spirit of prayer was as remarkable as her spirit of study, and she was as holy as she was intellectual. The *Life*, which occupies a hundred pages, is well written, and is adorned with four portraits of the heroine and with other illustrations ; and it ought to become a useful handbook with the advocates of higher education for women—a subject on which we refrain from expressing any opinion.

Reviews in Brief.

Alexis Clerc. Par le R. P. CHARLES DANIEL, S.J. Paris : P. Téqui. 1895.—This biography forms a worthy pendant to that of M. Robinet de Plas, noticed elsewhere in this REVIEW. The subjects of both were French naval officers, who after abandoning for years all practices of religion, were led back by the mysterious workings of grace, not only to the fold of the Church as fervent Christians, but to the lofty vocation of Jesuit priests, noted for rare virtue and sanctity. Both shared too that voyage undertaken in the spirit of a crusade, to visit and protect the French missions in China, in a ship rendered for the time a floating sanctuary by the celebration of religious services on board, and the edifying spirit in which they were attended by the officers and crew. It was M. Clerc's last voyage, as it only confirmed the religious vocation already matured before he sailed. He sacrificed to it the earthly prospect of a brilliant career, to meet at the end of sixteen years a tragic fate, as one of those saintly victims of the Commune, shot down in hatred of the faith, on whom popular piety has conferred the title of martyrs, in anticipation of its confirmation by the Church. The narrative of a life so replete with incident and variety forms a volume as full of interest as of edification. It loses nothing in the hands of the narrator, who writes in a spirit of love and reverence for the *confrère* whose memory he celebrates.

Les Missions du Colonel Flatters. Par J. V. BARBIER. Paris : P. Téqui. 1895.—The history of the two missions of Colonel Flatters, the latter of which ended so tragically, is told in this volume on the authority of hitherto unpublished documents. The story of the disaster is told with all its grim details, and the ambush in the desert, the massacres of part of the mission, the poisoned dates causing delirium and apathy to the remainder, the last fight and the dreadful retreat with its attendant horrors of famine and cannibalism, are set down in a narrative which is all the more effective from its simplicity. The mission, intended as a reconnaissance for the Trans-Saharan railway, started across the desert from the Algerian frontier at the close of 1880. Of the ninety individuals composing it, only thirteen returned alive, and these were all natives, the eleven

Frenchmen having perished to a man at the hands of those pirates of the Sahara, the Touaregs.

Petronilla and other Stories. By ELEANOR C. DONNELLY. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1896.—The spirit of Catholic faith is so blended with the narrative in the stories contained in this pretty volume, that they inculcate a moral without obtruding it. As bright sketches of American social life they appeal moreover to the interest of readers of all classes, and are the more suitable for Christmas presentations as many of them turn on the associations of that season. The first, for instance, is the story of three Christmases, and the last of a New Year's Day surprise, making happiness the unlooked-for reward of its intended sacrifice to religious conviction.

Philosophie de Saint Thomas. La Connaissance, par M. J. GARDAIR, professeur libre de Philosophie à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris à La Sorbonne. Paris: Léthielloux Libraire-Éditeur, 10 Rue Cassette. 1895. Pp. 304.—M. Gardair, who is one of those very able writers who are seeking to restore in France the philosophy of St. Thomas, provides us in this little treatise with some excellent dissertations on St. Thomas' theory of knowledge. We have rarely seen a more successful attempt at presenting in popular form St. Thomas' theory on this subject. "La Connaissance" deserves to take rank with M. Gardair's "Corps d'Ame," which met with such favourable acceptance when it first appeared some years ago.

La Vie de N.S. Jésus-Christ, méditée pour tous les Jours de l'Année. Vol. I. Par L'AUTEUR DES AVIS SPIRITUELS. Fifth Edition. Paris: P. Téqui.—It is consoling to find, in these days of restless activity, a book of meditations reaching its fifth edition. These meditations are preceded by good sound advice and instruction on the manner of meditating, and are intended chiefly for those who make frequent communions. And they seem to us well adapted for those more advanced in the spiritual life. The volume before us commences on Advent Sunday and takes us to the eve of Pentecost, the meditations bearing more or less directly on the life of our Blessed Lord. They are full of suggestions put in simple but impressive language. Those happy souls who have some understanding of the divine art of mental prayer will find them helpful.

La Table Eucharistique et ses Convives. Par Père SERVAIS. Paris: P. Téqui.—Where are the guests? Who has dispersed them? How are they to be brought back? These are the pro-

blems which the writer of this very able little *brochure* essays to solve. France, the eldest daughter of Holy Church, has sadly fallen away from her mother. P. Servais lays the responsibility of her desertion from the altar to (1) Protestantism, which by its negations has produced *doubts* and *scepticism* in the mind; (2) Jansenism, whose austere doctrine has created *fear* in the soul; (3) Voltairianism, sowing, by its subtle mockeries and fears, *false shame* in weak wills; and lastly (4) the Revolution, guided by freemasonry, which has brought forth bitter hatred against our Lord and His Church. The remedies suggested are (1) prayer; (2) action; (3) speech. This little work is well worth reading. The writer is intensely in earnest, and makes it evident that he has studied his subject, in which experience has assisted him. The *brochure* is in fact a detached chapter of a larger work on the Eucharist, which is shortly to be issued.

Réflexions et Prières pour la Sainte Communion. Vol. II. Ninth Edition. Paris: P. Téqui.—This work is the second volume of a number of prayers in the form of exercises for each day of the month, intended for those devout souls who have both the time and inclination for spiritual exercise, and is commendable for its simplicity of language and devotional spirit. Its somewhat bulky form is against it, particularly in these days when we have apparently so little time to devote to things spiritual. It is a book well worth having, if only to supply us with matter for meditation.

History of Ely Place. By the Rev. J. A. DEWE. London: Burns & Oates. 1895.—In an interesting little pamphlet, sold for the modest sum of 2*d.*, the vicissitudes of Ely Place are recounted since it was bequeathed in the year 1290, by John de Kirkby, Bishop of Ely, to his successors in perpetuity, as a residence within easy reach of the metropolis. Holborn was then in the country, and the episcopal palace evidently stood in its own grounds, as we find the property subsequently added to by the gift of a vineyard. Here was built, probably at the date of the first donation, the church of St. Etheldreda, restored to Catholic worship in 1874, on its purchase by the Fathers of the Institute of Charity, with Father Lockhart as Superior. It is memorable as the first of the pre-Reformation churches in London, and we believe in England, thus given back to the Old Faith.

Laurence Oliphant. By CHARLES NEWTON SCOTT. London: The Leadenhall Press. 1895.—This little *brochure*, published as “a supplementary contribution” to the biography of Laurence Oliphant,

is intended to justify him from the charge of having been imposed upon by a mere charlatan, such as Mr. Harris, the founder of the Brotherhood of the New Life, is generally assumed to have been. To this end the author publishes sundry effusions in rhyme and blank verse from the writings of Harris, which, though they may not be altogether without poetic merit, contribute little towards the solution of the problem of his influence over a mind like Oliphant's.

Ad Sodales. By FRANK TAYLOR. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1895.—The bright and brief lyrics, here republished, as a prefatory note informs us, from the *Pall Mall Gazette* and other journals, belong to the category of *vers de société*, and have all the metrical facility and flippant sparkle of that school of poetry. Inspired by "trifles light as air," they are but airy trifling, to criticise which seriously would be to break a butterfly on a wheel. Yet such productions have their place, and these latest inspirations of the muse of *bric-à-brac* verse will at least fill it gracefully.

Melodies of Mood and Tense. By CHARLES H. A. ESLING. Philadelphia: Charles H. Walsh. 1894.—The versatility of Mr. Esling's muse may be judged even by a glance at his table of contents, where we pass from society verses and kindred graceful trifling to hymns to the saints, and translations of the *Dies Iræ* and *Stabat Mater*. The series entitled *Poems of Places*, contains some of the prettiest lyrics in a volume whose interest is enhanced by the charming illustrations enlisting another art in aid of the poetical inspirations of the *genius loci*. One of the little pieces, "A Roundel for Rosetime," is printed with the original music to which it has been set as a vocal quartette for tenors and basses.

My Crucifix. By ALLARD MONTPIŒON. London: W. Knott. 1895.—The thoughts suggested to a devout mind in kneeling before a crucifix are here arranged in four short and beautiful meditations, with sufficient novelty of idea and expression to arouse the attention and excite the interest of the reader. Although the author, in his few prefatory words, disclaims all pretension to originality of thought, he has at least given freshness of form to the sentiments with which his piety inspired him, and has thus compiled a little work which, short as it is, being entirely comprised within the compass of 40 pages, cannot fail to be of use to others.

Nouveau Mois de Saint Joseph. Par l'Abbé JOSEPH BERLIER. Paris: P. Téqui. 1896.—In thirty-one chapters, one for each day of

the month of March, the author has arranged in due sequence all that Scripture and tradition have handed down in reference to St. Joseph, collating and combining the speculations of various authorities on a life so mysterious and so little known. With the facts arranged in their order he has intermingled his own interesting and edifying reflections, forming a series of essays which by their charm and interest lead the reader insensibly on from one branch of the subject to another. The lecture, reflection, and prayer of which each chapter consists, render them suitable for meditations, which though especially appropriate to the month of March will not be out of place at any season of the year.

The Pessimist. By CHARLES WADDIE. Edinburgh: Waddie & Co. 1896.—The poem which gives its title to this volume is in blank verse, and consists of about 30 pages of reflections expressed in poetic form and diction, but of a more or less obvious character, on the vanity of human effort and ambition, illustrated by examples taken from history. The moral, an unimpeachable one, is expressed as follows :

If Misery hath marked thee for her own,
Make then thy plaint to Heaven's eternal King,
Who from thine eyes shall wipe away all tears;
So freed from ills, with thy soul tutored thus,
'Twill be the highest privilege to die.

The Way of Transgressors. By RENTOUL ESLER. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1896.—Although there are in this volume two of the "transgressors" who figure on the title page, the measure of retributive justice dealt out to them is very unequal. The one is an example of the wicked man who flourishes like a bay-tree, as we leave him after ruining an estimable family, officiating as mayor of his native town and entertaining a royal prince at a ball. The other, whose gradual deterioration of character is skilfully shown, points a more satisfactory moral, since he only escapes from human justice by a violent death, suspiciously resembling suicide. The principal interest of the story centres in the heroine, Malvina Grace, a grocer's daughter, educated above her position by misplaced parental ambition. How she has to fight her way to peace and happiness through the difficulties created by her false position, we will leave our readers to discover in the author's own pages. They will find there a story told with force and directness, as well as an interesting group of characters, well and naturally portrayed.

A Primer of Tennyson. By WILLIAM MACNEILE DIXON. London: Methuen. 1896.—This volume of elegant and scholarly criticism fills a void left even by the voluminous literature already accumulated on the life and works of the late Poet Laureate. The first chapters are devoted to a brief outline of his life, with an analysis of his works in the chronological order of their appearance, showing in many cases the changes made in successive versions. Then follows a critical essay which is sympathetic, though by no means indiscriminately laudatory, as the verdict of the author denies to Tennyson the supreme quality of greatness of thought with which popular admiration invests him. A valuable and exhaustive bibliography, including reviews and notices in periodicals, closes this useful adjunct to the study of the poet.

Chez Nous. Par ACHILLE MILLIEN. Paris: Alphonse Lemerre. 1896.—This collection of graceful carols of rural life has that peculiar Champagne-like sparkle of French verse which is as inimitable and as incommunicable as the song of a bird. The peasants of the Nivernais, the girls singing to their spinning-wheels, the farm servants chanting their adieus to friends and companions as they change employers on St. John's Day, the refrain of the shepherds going their rounds to ask for money on the first of May, the gleaners, the threshers, all the rustic types, form the subjects of these little vignettes in rhyme. Many of them are full of pathetic significance, and there is one fine ballad with its recurring burden of an invocation to the wind at the close of every strophe.

The Circus Rider's Daughter. By F. V. BRACKEL. Translated by MARY A. MITCHELL. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1896.—Any one who wants a good stirring story, with plenty of incident and plot, cannot do better than take up the "Circus Rider's Daughter," the healthy moral tone of which renders it a safe book for family reading. The strange vicissitudes of the heroine's career leave her noble nature unspoiled, and the sacrifice of all her hopes of earthly happiness to a sense of filial duty, leads her by the path of suffering to find her true vocation in religion. The world's homage to beauty and talent has been laid at her feet, only to prove to her how inadequate it is to satisfy the cravings of a heart such as hers. The other characters, too, are strongly limned, but the principal interest centres in her struggle against the influences of her surroundings and the contrarieties of her fate.

Books Received.

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- Father Furniss and his Work for Children.** Rev. T. Livius, C.S.S.R. London : Art & Book Co. 8vo, pp. 193.
- The Thirty-nine Articles.** E. C. S. Gibson. London : Methuen & Co. 8vo, pp. 362.
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- Decline of the Roman Empire.** E. Gibbon. London : Methuen & Co. 8vo, pp. 464.
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- La Russie et le Saint-Siège.** Paris : Plon, Nourrit & Cie. 8vo, pp. 463.
- The Lost Christmas Tree.** Eleanor C. Donnelly. Philadelphia : H. L. Kilner & Co. 8vo, pp. 208.
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- Outlines of Dogmatic Theology.** Vol. iii. Rev. Sylvester Hunter, S.J. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 8vo, pp. 495.
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- The Weekly Communicant.** Rev. R. Clarke, S.J. Catholic Truth Society. 8vo, pp. 66.
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- Cosmic Ethics**; Or, the Mathematical Theory of Evolution. W. Cave Thomas. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 8vo, pp. 296.
- Alethea**; Or, the Parting of the Ways. By Cyril. London: Burns & Oates. Two vols. 8vo, pp. 270-270.
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- The Doctrine of the Incarnation**. R. L. Ottley, M.A. London: Methuen & Co. Two vols. 8vo, pp. 324-366.
- Little Manual of St Anthony**. New York: Benziger Bros. 12mo, pp. 480.
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- Le Reverend Père H. Chambellan**. Le Père H. Charruau, S.J. Paris: Téqui. 8vo, pp. 286.
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- Land Tenure by Registrâtion**. W. Pilling. London: Chapman & Hall. 8vo, pp. 306.
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ART. I.—EVOLUTION AND DOGMA.

THE work which Fr. Zahm has lately published under the above title is a most noteworthy contribution to the controversy on Evolution. Fr. Zahm sums up the voluminous writings on the subject with his usual clearness and ability and brings home to the minds of those who are neither scientists nor theologians, the state of the question, the issues involved, and especially the bearings of Evolution on Revelation, and on the scientific treatment of Revelation, viz., Theology. He writes throughout in a spirit of perfect candour from the scientific, as well as from the theological point of view. Though one perceives at once that he is a convinced Evolutionist, he blinks none of the difficulties (and they are many) which have to be answered and cleared up before Evolution can be said to have emerged from the twilight of hypothesis into the full light of a perfectly established account of the genesis of the organic beings that exist, or have existed, on the surface of the globe.

Fr. Zahm has wisely given in two places in this work a bird's-eye view of the history of Evolution. Of course, in a restricted sense every one will admit that Evolution is the law of the creature—especially of the rational creature, made for an end higher than itself, and striving with the concurrence of the First Cause to fill itself for and to attain to that end. The divergence begins between "Evolutionists," properly so called, and "Fixists" as they have been termed by their

adversaries, when the question is raised as to the origin of the various "species" of plants and animals. "Fixists," as their name implies, hold that the "species" were "fixed," or made unchangeable, from the beginning, and that any modification which takes place does not pass beyond the limits (specific) laid down originally by the Creator. They are various currents of organic life which cannot be traced to a common source, or each one of which flows from a distinct and independent source. Great names can be quoted in favour of this view, as Fr. Zahm willingly admits, while some, like our friend, the Marquis de Nadaillac, a most erudite anthropologist, remain neutral, declaring that up to the present Evolutionism is "not proven." The Evolutionists, on the other hand, hold that all the "species" of organic beings, plants and animals, come from a few primordial types, or even from one; consequently, that the species were not "fixed" or rendered immutable from the beginning, but that the differentiation took place in the course of long ages through the action of various influences both internal and external in accordance with certain laws.

Evolution [says Fr. Zahm] as we now know it is a product of the latter half of the present century. It would, however, be a mistake to imagine that, Minerva-like, it came forth from the brain of Darwin or Spencer. . . . On the contrary, it has been the joint achievement . . . of countless thinkers and observers and experimenters of many climes and of many centuries. It is the focus towards which many and divers lines of thought have converged from the earliest periods of speculation and scientific research down to our own. The sages of India and Babylonia; the priests of Egypt and Assyria; the philosophers of Greece and Rome; the Fathers of the early Church, and the Schoolmen of the Middle Ages, as well as the scholars and discoverers of subsequent ages, contributed towards the establishment of the theory on the bases on which it now reposes.—P. 23.

Fr. Zahm goes on to prove this general statement in a manner which appears to us quite satisfactory and convincing. For, although no one can contend that Evolutionism was known to the ancients, as it is to us, still it is undeniable that many of them laid down *principles* which would have been more widely applied had they known the facts which have been brought to light during the last few centuries and especially during the latter portion of the present century.

This Fr. Zahm proceeds to show by quoting various opinions

of the Fathers and Schoolmen, amongst others, favourable to "abiogenesis" or "spontaneous generation," as it is commonly, though (we think) not very accurately, called. "Abiogenesis" is intimately, yet not necessarily, connected with Evolution. It is postulated by most Evolutionists, though they are bound to confess that no case of "abiogenesis" can be proven. Fr. Zahm is very well aware that the Fathers, notably St. Augustine and the Schoolmen, were mistaken as to the *facts*, and thought that some plants and animals were generated spontaneously, or rather produced by the activities which God had originally infused into the elements or the heavenly bodies, and not by the ordinary process of generation from another living organism; but he quotes their views to show how little they were afraid of any consequences injurious to the faith by any admission on their part of the actual existence and continuation of abiogenesis. St. Augustine is, perhaps, the most advanced in this respect. He does not hesitate to have recourse to "spontaneous generation" to account for the existence of certain animals in remote islands which were not in the Ark ("De Civ. Dei," l. xvi. c. 7).

Si vero e terra exortae sunt secundum originem primam, quando dixit Deus; producat terra animam vivam: multo clarius apparet non tam reparandorum animalium causa, quam figurandarum variarum gentium propter Ecclesiae sacramentum in arca fuisse omnia genera, si in insulis quo transire non possent multa animalia terra produxit.

In regard to St. Thomas, it is only fair to say that he seemed to admit "spontaneous generation" with a kind of reluctance, and that on this point, as on many other obscure points, he often modified his opinion. For instance, L. II. Sent. Dist. XV. q. 1, a. 1, ad. 2, he says:

Ad productionem plantarum sufficiunt, communes elementorum, quae ex diversa commixtione elementorum, diversimodè speciem sortiuntur, quod in animalibus perfectis accidere non potest.

In his "Com. in Metaphys. Arist." L. VII. q. 6, he says: "Animalia imperfecta quae sunt vicina plantis, videntur posse generari et ex semine et sine semine." L. II. Sent. Dist. XIV. q. 1, a. 5, ad. 6, he restricts spontaneous generation to plants, and in his S. T. p. 1, q. 71, a. unico, ad. 1, he says: "Unde

illa quae naturaliter generantur ex semine, non possunt naturaliter generari sine semine." Nevertheless, the Angelic Doctor, in common with all the Schoolmen, admitted the possibility and upheld supposed existence of spontaneous generation, since the facts as known to them seemed to require it. In fact, at a later period, Redi, the famous Tuscan physician (1626-1697), a disciple of Harvey's, experienced some difficulty in impugning spontaneous generation, as some people were under the impression that he was opposing Holy Writ (Judges xiv. 8-14), notwithstanding the interpretation given by Cornelius a Lapide, who believed himself in spontaneous generation: "Quamquam hic non dicuntur (apes) natae ex leone, sed ori ejus insedissee."

The argument which Fr. Zahm draws from this teaching of Fathers and Schoolmen, although in point of fact mistaken, is that it cannot be looked upon as against faith to hold that in the beginning the Creator infused into matter the activity necessary for the origination of organic life to be evolved and differentiated in the course of ages in accordance with the laws which He had laid down, and that furthermore, that should any future researches necessitate the admission of "abiogenesis," we should be following in the footsteps of great Catholic thinkers and theologians in the past, in loyally accepting it.

Fr. Zahm next brings out very luminously the teachings of St. Gregory of Nyssa and Augustine, and of the Schoolmen, concerning "derivative creation;" that is to say, the mediate creation, or formation of certain living organisms. This point has been developed by Dr. St. George Mivart and others years ago in this country, and is admitted by all Catholic theologians. The point of this argument is, that if the Schoolmen had all the facts before them which we have, they would not have the slightest hesitation in admitting that all the organic species at present existing are the outcome not of direct and immediate, but of derivative and mediate creation.

One of the saddest things in connection with evolutionistic teaching has been the appalling amount of pernicious errors which accompanied it, or of which it was made the vehicle.

Pantheism, Materialism, Atheism, Agnosticism—*terribiles visu formæ*—seemed at one time to be inseparably bound up with it. This will account for the determined, and sometimes

bitter, opposition which it encountered on the part of very learned and devoted ecclesiastics. Further research and thought, according to Fr. Zahm, have made it abundantly clear that Evolution, as such, is quite free from, and even incompatible with, these errors, and Fr. Zahm makes out a good case for his contention.

This portion of his book will no doubt bring relief to the minds of many who could not succeed in dissociating the idea of Evolution from those monstrous errors which were associated with it. As Fr. Zahm ably and eloquently shows, the underlying idea of true Evolution is singularly beautiful and harmonises perfectly with the attributes of God, and with His mode of dealing with His Creatures :

It is nobler to make a watch capable of generating more perfect watches, than to make them directly and immediately ; just as it was more perfect on the part of Our Lord to make us capable of meriting ourselves than merely to apply externally His merits to us ; more perfect to bestow upon some of His creatures power to consecrate the elements into His Body and Blood, than if He were to do it Himself in our presence.

Fr. Zahm is equally impressive in showing that far from conflicting with teleology, Evolution makes it wider, nobler, and more far-reaching. This is now acknowledged, as he takes care to bring out, by nearly all great biologists : for instance, Huxley says (" Darwiniana," p. 110) : " Nevertheless, it is necessary to remember that there is a wider teleology which is not touched by the doctrine of Evolution, but is actually based upon the doctrine of Evolution." In other words, the argument from design is not interfered with, but shown from another, and a higher, standpoint. Evolution, then, as applied to organic beings, excluding, as a matter of course, the human soul, cannot be dismissed as an absurd or impossible theory. We may reject various theories concerning it put forth by Lamarck, Darwin and others as false or inadequate, as the case may be, but we cannot reject Evolution itself as contrary to reason or to faith. On the other hand, we are not warranted in concluding from the *possible* to the actual, and consequently we must try to ascertain whether the Creator, in point of fact, did make the species immutable from the beginning, or whether the facts warrant, if they do not require, us to hold that the actual species have been brought

about in the course of long ages under the divine administration by the influence of secondary or created activities in accordance with the Divine Purpose.

This is the question which has been so keenly debated for some time past, and is still, as Fr. Zahm tells us (p. 65-83). From p. 84 to p. 139 he lays before us the well-known arguments in favour of Evolution. There is no doubt that these evidences go to make a good case, though, as Fr. Zahm goes on to show from p. 140 to p. 202, there are various objections of a most serious kind to which, up to the present, no satisfactory answer is forthcoming. Further research may, however, as in the case of the objections urged against the Copernican theory, clear up the difficulties by which the Evolutionist is now beset. It seems to us that, as matters stand at present, the theory of Evolution has passed from the state of being *merely possible* to the state of *probability*—that is, when misconceptions are cleared away and monstrous and glaring errors are set aside.

It is quite evident to us that there is no incompatibility between Evolution and Theism, or between Evolution and Spiritualism—I mean, the doctrine holding the spirituality of the soul and its separate creation. We are not aware that this is seriously called into question by any Catholic writer of weight.

Another question, and a most important one, remains to be considered, viz., has not positive Revelation furnished us with a certain amount of information as to the manner in which organic beings were created and fashioned by the Almighty, and does not evolution evidently clash with this information? Some Catholic theologians have answered in the affirmative; but they are very few in number, whereas the great majority of Catholic theologians hold, like our learned friend, Fr. de Hummelauer, S.J., in his excellent "Commentary on the Book of Genesis," that evolution in itself is not excluded by the text of Genesis.* We are also of opinion that as Evolution is not *excluded* by the text of Genesis, neither is it *included* in it; as in our view it was not the purpose of the inspired writer to give us any information as to the manner in which plants and

* "Dicamus igitur, Geneseos textu Darwinistarum, quae de plantis et animalibus sunt placita, non excludi."—P. 129.

animals came to be what they are. The attempts made to explain Holy Writ in the evolutionistic or anti-evolutionistic sense can "pair off" together. They are not warranted by sound Exegesis. The evolutionistic theory will stand or fall by the results of a searching investigation into the *natural* revelation. Hence it follows that a Catholic scientist, or any Catholic, is quite free, as far as Catholic doctrine is concerned, to hold and defend, or to reject and impugn, the theory of evolution as applied to the flora and fauna of our globe.*

Finally, we come to the consideration of the question whether the *body* of Adam can be said to have been evolved, like the bodies of other animals, according to evolutionistic principles, and ultimately animated by a spiritual soul, the creation and infusion of which into the organic body would be attributable to the direct and immediate action of God. Fr. Zahm certainly leans very markedly to the opinion put forward by Dr. St. George Mivart, and he quotes furthermore Cardinal Gonsalez, O.P., and the erudite French Dominican, P. Leroy, as favouring or allowing this view.

Cardinal Gonsalez does not admit, as Fr. Zahm takes care to explain, that the first human body, as it now is, attained that degree of perfection through evolutionary influences alone.

He requires the special action of God for the ultimate perfection of the body. Fr. Zahm rather demurs to this, but Cardinal Gonsalez is simply following the teaching of St. Thomas, who holds that the spiritual substance is *per se* and immediately the form of the body. Its union with the body must be substantial, as all Catholic theologians are bound to teach. This substantial union with the body involves, according to the teaching of St. Thomas, a *substantial change* in the body. The common opinion before St. Thomas was that besides the soul there was a form of corporeity in the human body. This opinion was subsequently put forward again by Scotus, with whose name it has become identified, though he did not originate it. According to this view there *need* be no substantial change in the body through its substantial union with the soul. As to this, let every one abound in his own sense. One thing is perfectly clear according to the Angelic

* See M. Gaudry's splendid work, "Les Enchainements du monde animal."

Doctor, and it is that previous and lower vital principles constitute no bar to their eventual and successive expulsion and the substitution in their place of a spiritual principle immediately created and infused by God, or coming "from the outside." For St. Thomas teaches, with Aristotle, that man passes, during his embryonic life, through various stages; the embryo is first animated by a vegetative soul, which being expelled, is succeeded by a sensitive soul, and this is in due course expelled and succeeded by the spiritual soul. Here, then, according to the teaching of St. Thomas, is an evolution *sui generis*,* or what evolutionists would call "recapitulation." It does not matter whether St. Thomas was right or wrong, in point of fact, the important consideration is that he saw nothing in this evolution of the embryonic life of man conflicting with theism or spiritualism, or any Catholic truth. The absence of "recapitulation" in the present order of things would not *disprove* original evolution. It appears quite evident to us that no objection can be made to this theory on the grounds that it is metaphysically or physically impossible.

It remains, therefore, to be seen whether we have in positive revelation any definite information which precludes our acceptance of the theory as at least a probable account of the manner in which the body of Adam was formed by the Almighty.

Here, again, some evolutionists have sought in the text an indication of an evolutionary process. This contention we believe to be unfounded. Neither can the direct and immediate formation of the body of Adam be proven from the text of Gen. ii. 7. St. Augustine establishes this in his "De Genesi," ad lit., l. vi. c. xii. His argument is that if we make an exception in favour of the body of Adam and claim its *immediate* formation by the Creator we shall lay ourselves open to many difficulties in dealing with other texts of Scripture, *e.g.*, "opera manuum tuarum sunt coeli." So far, FF. Knabenbauer and de Hummelauer (p. 129) agree with us.

* "In generatione animalis et hominis, in quibus est forma perfectissima, sunt plurimae formae et generationes intermediae . . . anima igitur vegetabilis, quae prima inest, cum embryo vivit vita plantae, corrumpitur et succedit anima perfectior, quae est nutritiva et sensitiva simul," &c.—C. Gentes, l. 11, c. 89.

Nor can any objection be taken to the evolutionistic theory on the ground of man's elevation to the supernatural order and his endowment with the preternatural gifts. Waiving the opinion of St. Augustine,* "De Genesi, viii. c. Manichæos," l. ii. c. viii., and of St. Bonaventure, lib. ii. Sent. d. xxix. a 11, q. 11, that Adam was created in the natural state and subsequently raised to the supernatural, there was no impossibility, surely, in his being constituted in grace and receiving the preternatural gifts when the spiritual soul was infused. There is something sublime in this gradual ascension of the organic portion of man to meet the spiritual substance, and the supernatural and preternatural qualities gratuitously bestowed by the Creator, as, in the course of ages, to meet, in the plenitude of time, the *Logos* Himself. So far, then, we do not see any serious objection, from the theological point of view, to the theory of evolution as applied to the body of Adam. But there remain two very important points to be considered. The first is that none of the Fathers or theologians of the Church ever held the opinion that the body of Adam might have descended from antecedent organic forms. The hypothesis is not put forward by St. Augustine, but his discussion of the actual formation of the body of Adam gives us a clue to the proper answer to the objection. In "De Genesi," ad lit. l. vi. c. 13, he asks :

Sed quomodo fecit hominem Deus de limo terræ? utrum repente in ætate perfecta, hoc est, virili, atque juvenili, an sicut nunc usque format in utero matrum; ut illud tantum proprium habuerit Adam, quod non ex parentibus natus est, sed factus ex terra; eo tamen modo, ut in hoc perficiendo, et per ætates augendo hi temporum numeri computentur, quos naturæ humanæ genesi attributos videmus. *An potius hoc non est requirendum?*

Are we to investigate the matter at all? St. Augustine hints, we are of opinion, that this has not been made known in positive Revelation.† If it has not, then we must not seek for an answer from the expounders of positive Revelation, nor

* "Non quia illa insufflatio conversa est in animam viventem, sed operata est in animam viventem. Nondum tamen spiritalem hominem debemus intelligere qui factus est in animam viventem, sed adhuc animale. Tunc enim spiritalis effectus est, cum in paradiso h. e. in beata vita constitutus," &c.

† See S. Bon. L. II. Sent. D. XII., a. 1. q. 2, where he attributes S. Augustine's views to Philosophy, not to Revelation.

are we any more bound to follow their views on the natural revelation than their reasons and the facts which came within their purview warrant us in doing. In other words, we can refuse to their teaching on this point, as probably not coming within the scope of Revelation, any dogmatic value.

The second point to be considered is this: It may be, and has been, objected that the account of the creation of Eve effectively disposes of the application of the evolutionary theory even to the body of Adam (Fr. de Hummelauer, l. c.). We do not think that, even if the account is to be taken as strictly scientific and historical, that this would *necessarily* follow. Some, however, look upon this answer as an evasion of the difficulty. In our humble opinion, and we speak under correction, we are not compelled by any *principle* of theology or exegesis to insist upon the strictly historical and scientific nature of the account of the creation and formation of Eve. The opinion taught by Origen, favoured by St. Augustine ("De Gen." c. "Man." 12), "Sive ergo ista figurate dicta sint, sive etiam figurate facta sint, non frustra hoc modo dicta vel facta sunt," and subsequently put forward by Cardinal Cajetan and others, without any censure on part of the Church, seems to us of sufficient probability, based upon scientific and exegetical reasons, to deter us from categorically asserting in the name of Divine truth that the principles of evolution cannot be applied to the body of Adam. The practical unanimity of interpreters on the point does not place the matter beyond all respectful and reverent inquiry. We gladly leave the matter to the authority of the Apostolic See.

Before drawing this brief review of Fr. Zahm's admirable and helpful work to a close, we should like to draw his attention to a few out of some minor slips. We do not like his using the word "supernatural" in a non-theological sense after the example of modern agnostics as synonymous with "hyperphysical" or "suprasensible." By the very fact that a thing is "hyperphysical" it is not "supernatural," as Fr. Zahm very well knows. We should not change our clear and definite terminology to suit the constantly changing jargon of the scientists. Neither can we insist too often or too strongly on the value of human reason and its intrinsic power in respect of various suprasensible truths. Mr. Balfour's latest work

ought to serve as a warning against any appearance even of making light of human reason within its proper sphere.

The second remark is in reference to what Fr. Zahm says concerning our knowledge of the essence of God and of matter. P. 276, he says: "Of the essence of God we can know nothing." Fr. Zahm means, of course, *directly and intuitively*, at this side of eternity, but analogically and indirectly we surely can, and do, know *something* of the Divine essence. Fr. Zahm goes on to say: "Even of matter we are ignorant as to its essence." Not entirely. We have no *intuitive* perception of the essence of matter, nor a complete and adequate knowledge of it; but we have a *sufficient* knowledge of the essence of matter and of the essence of the spiritual substance to enable us to prove to demonstration, that one is not the other, and that one cannot possibly, even by omnipotence, be transformed into the other.

Another word and we have done. It is sometimes asserted that Evolution, if it were proven, would solve every problem concerning organic life. We are of opinion that, if Evolution were proven up to the hilt, the origin and the nature of life and the genesis of species (*how* they came to be) would still remain involved in impenetrable mystery. "He hath made all things good in their time, and hath delivered the world to their consideration, so that man cannot find out the work which God hath made from the beginning to the end" (Eccles. iii. 11). As to man's higher destiny, as to the solution of the enigma of life which, willy-nilly, confronts every responsible human being, "science is bankrupt." We must interrogate our God-given reason and avail ourselves of the higher light of faith in order to learn the ever-momentous truths concerning our everlasting destiny of Him Who is the way, the truth, and the life, under the loving and infallible guidance of Holy Church.

F. DAVID, O.S.F.

ART. II.—THE CRISIS IN RHODESIA.

1. *Rhodesia of To-day*. E. F. KNIGHT. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1895.
2. *South Africa*. W. BASIL WORSFOLD. London: M. A. Methuen. 1895.
3. *South Africa*. W. F. PURVIS and L. V. BIGGS. London: Chapman & Hall. 1896.
4. *Monomotapa*. Hon. A. WILMOT. London: Fisher Unwin. 1896.
5. *How We Made Rhodesia*. Major ARTHUR GLYN LEONARD. London: Kegan Paul. 1896.

THE cruel ordeal to which the pioneer colonies of South Africa are being subjected, seems a bitter irony on the high hopes with which their incorporation in the British Empire was hailed so short a time ago. The year 1896 will long be remembered as one of sinister augury for that region, falsifying with a long tale of disaster over-optimistic forecasts of its future. Expansion there, was, as we now see, too rapid for the powers of growth to overtake it, and an empire snatched ere mature from the grip of foreign competition, must be built up anew from within, now that it has been effectually staked off against aggression from without. The supreme service which Mr. Rhodes, through the agency of the Chartered Company, rendered to the nation, in thus securing it in time, will, in the eyes of posterity at least, be held as a set-off against his later misuse of a policy of adventure, which, in the narrower view of contemporaries, can only be justified by success. But Cæsar, no less than Cæsar's wife, should be above suspicion, and the association of political power with financial enterprise, will always furnish an engine to detraction in the assertion that the one has been used to play the game of the other.

The true history of Dr. Jameson's raid, despite the revelations of cipher telegrams and the evidence in a Crown prosecution, has yet to be written, and its inner motives and meaning

will probably remain a mystery, even after a Parliamentary Commission has spent months in trying to elucidate them. It has been averred by a writer in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*, that its objective was not Johannesburg, but Pretoria, and its aim the seizure of important State papers, proving the existence of a formidable conspiracy against British supremacy in South Africa. While this hypothesis would supply a rational interpretation of action, which otherwise seems irrational, on the part of men of tried ability and experience, it is confuted by the geographical fact that Krugersdorp lies on the road not to Pretoria, but to Johannesburg. Whatever the purpose aimed at, it was frustrated in that dire defeat which was a moral, far more than a military disaster.

The era of South African history, whose continuity it has for the moment interrupted, opened in 1884, with the proclamation of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the initial step in that great forward movement which has carried the British flag to the shore of the Zambesi. The measure was a precautionary one, dictated by necessity rather than choice, in order to prevent the intended annexation of the territory in question to German South-west Africa, which thus joining hands with the Dutch republics on the east, would have flung a Teutonic bridge across the continent, hemming in the British colonists from all access to the promised lands of the far interior. The paper annexation of this great and partially desert tract was followed a year later by its organisation under Sir Charles Warren, and its division into a Crown colony (since incorporated in the Cape Colony), on the one hand, and a group of native territories, retaining their quasi-independence under British supremacy, on the other.

From this date history marched rapidly, and the year 1886 was signalised as another epoch-making one by the first discovery of gold on the Rand. In 1887, the Government took over Zululand, and in 1888, Lobengula practically signed away his independence by granting concessions of valuable land and mineral rights to the British South Africa Company. This body, which now appears on the stage of history, received its Charter in the ensuing year, in which was also taken the first step towards federation, in the formation of a Customs Union between some of the South African colonies. In 1890, with

Mr. Rhodes as Prime Minister in Capetown, the pioneer expedition to Mashonaland made its march to the north, and founded Port Salisbury beyond the watershed of the Zambesi. In 1891, was signed the Anglo-Portuguese Convention, settling the disputed frontier on the east; in 1893, came the Matabele War, and in 1894, the settlement of Matabeleland.

Further territorial and administrative changes took place in the assumption of jurisdiction by the Chartered Company over British Central Africa north of the Zambesi in 1894; in the Swaziland Convention with the Transvaal on November 2nd of the same year; and in the annexation of Pondoland to the British dominions in the following one. This latter measure excited the lively resentment of the Transvaal Boers, who had hoped to secure in an outlet to the sea in this direction, some compensation for their enclosure on the land side by the British advance to the north, within a ring fence of alien territory. The cession of Swaziland, given them as a bribe for their acquiescence in the conquest of Matabeleland, was thus rendered nugatory in their eyes, and this check to their ambition was one of the chief factors in creating the state of tension which has led to the present situation.

The constriction of their frontier rendered more sensible the danger from which they were threatened from within, by the disproportionate growth of the foreign population attracted by the extraordinary wealth of the Witwaters rand reefs. "Johannesburg," in the words of "Max O'Rell's" concise prediction of its future, "will swallow up the Transvaal," and the not unnatural desire to retard the process, has instigated President Kruger's policy of the denial of civil rights to the immigrants of the Golden City. The fatal attempt at intervention on their behalf, whose failure darkened the opening of the year with such ominous foreshadowing of evil, and the ensuing complications with Germany and the Transvaal, which gave diplomacy so tangled a skein to unravel, were calamitous enough, but worse remained behind.

The recruitment of a force for the invasion of the Transvaal, had left the vast territories north of the Limpopo without military or police, while its annihilation at Krugersdorp could not but react unfavourably to British prestige on the minds of a recently conquered native population. Coincident unfor-

tunately with this event were the twofold plagues of locusts and cattle disease, and the drastic method of stamping out the latter by the slaughter of infected herds, could not fail to exasperate ignorant savages, incapable of acquiescence in so great a sacrifice.

The working of this combined leaven became apparent in a series of outbreaks in Matabeleland during the month of March, of which the few and isolated settlers scattered over the wide veldt were the first victims. From many quarters simultaneously, came the same pitiful story of the massacre of families on lonely upland farms, by the swarthy ex-bloodhounds of Lobengula. All that English manhood could do in defence of the helpless, was done by such volunteer rescue parties as could be improvised by the settlers themselves. In Gwelo and Buluwayo, the principal centres of population, laagers of waggons chained together and defended by barricades strengthened with barbed wire, were formed as citadels of refuge for the women and children. But as the rising extended its area, the towns were wholly or partially invested, and the former kraal of Lobengula saw itself girdled by the watch-fires of his warriors, at a distance of from twelve to twenty miles. Then the neighbouring province sent on the same tidings of disaster, and the "people of coneys" who had burrowed in the rocks until rescued by the British from the ferocity of the Matabele, turned on their protectors, and joined hands with their former oppressors. For the first time in history, a "Mashona impi" was heard of, and the cowardly serfs of the Zulus showed that they too could wash their spears in the blood of the white man. From the Crocodile to the Zambesi, a thousand miles of continent had risen in arms, and weeks must elapse before reinforcements could reach the upper country, by the long trek of 600 miles separating Buluwayo from the railway terminus near Mafeking.

It was now seen that the pacification of Matabeleland after its conquest had been too sudden to be enduring, and that the seeming readiness of the people to settle down under the jurisdiction of their own indunas, had been too confidently accepted as affording a permanent guarantee for peace. Their phase of contentment was probably due to their sudden accession of wealth in the share of the vast royal herds which

they were able to secure amid the general confusion of the transition period. The estimate of their losses during the war as amounting to a third of their fighting force of 16,000 men, is now believed to have been much exaggerated, and the reported annihilation of their crack regiments, to have been a similar amplification of the truth. It is at any rate surmised, that during the recent campaign, they were able to put 12,000 fighting men into the field, and that their attack was headed by the remnants of the *corps d'élite* forming the Old Guard of the deposed Zulu monarch. Official optimism had made the usual mistake of undervaluing the strength of the enemy in the beginning, and of failing in consequence to grasp with sufficient rapidity the military exigencies of the situation. The framework of society in the Zulu States rested so entirely on a warlike basis, that the reconstruction of the fighting machine presented no difficulty, when once the spirit of discontent reached the flashing point of actual revolt.

The strength of the Matabele as warriors (as Messrs. Purvis and Biggs tell us in the volume prefixed to this article), like that of their Zulu ancestors and brethren, was dependent largely on their organisation and command. For military and governmental purposes, the country was divided into five districts, each controlled by a head induna, who was directly responsible to the King, who personally commanded the district of Buluwayo (Gubuluwayo, literally "the place of death"). Each division was subdivided into military kraals, from which the various regiments were recruited, and besides the 6500 first-class warriors, mostly drawn from the Abezani, or aristocracy (as distinguished from the Abembala and the Maholi who had been incorporated into the tribe during its numerous journeyings and wars), there was a reserve of nearly 10,000 warriors.

Steeped from boyhood in rapine and carnage, the Matabele Zulus could not long brook the curb of an empire of peace, and their military instincts revived, when, to the rankling bitterness of recent subjugation, was added the discontent due to a blight on the national prosperity.

The mysterious malady, which fomented the native rising, while at the same time increasing tenfold the difficulty of the Government in dealing with it, had made its first appearance in East Africa some years previously, exterminating there not only the domesticated cattle, but the wild buffalo and many kinds of antelopes. Travelling southward over the continent,

it crossed the Zambesi, and reached Rhodesia and British Bechuanaland in the course of this fatal year. So virulent is its poison, that according to Mr. Scott Montague, M.P., in his article "Nature versus the Chartered Company," in the *Nineteenth Century*, for August, in some districts, at least ninety per cent. of the oxen have been carried off, and only five per cent. of those attacked recover. If it be true, as this writer states, that the infection is carried by flies, no precautions will avail to stay its ravages, and the sacrifice of the Matabele herds will have been in vain.

But the diminution of the food supply implied in this wholesale destruction is but a part, and perhaps the least part, of the calamity represented by the cattle plague in South Africa. All questions on that continent, whether in the Sudan, in Uganda, or in Rhodesia, resolve themselves primarily into questions of communications, and it is by means of the trek ox that those of its southern half are almost exclusively carried on. He alone, of all available beasts of draught or burden, finds his subsistence by the way, grazing on the rough pasture of the veldt whenever outspanned for rest, and unlike the horse, mule, or ass, having transport capacity undiminished by the necessity of carrying his own food. Journeying at the rate of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, the ox team took from 40 to 45 days to cover the 600 miles from Mafeking to Buluwayo, drawing a load of 7000 to 8000 lb. of food and supplies for the 5000 whites in Matabeleland. Its place has now to be taken by mules or donkeys, and the rearing of the latter in the districts adapted for it, has consequently received a great stimulus. The loss of efficiency in the change almost paralyses transport, the necessaries of life are at famine prices, and Sir Frederick Carrington in the crisis of the struggle had to refuse reinforcements because he had no possibility of feeding additional men. Preserved milk was selling for 7s. 6d. a tin, and eggs for 40s. to 50s. a dozen in Buluwayo last May, and the question of provisions was, if possible, more urgent than that of defence.

The development of Rhodesia has been retarded for years by this twofold calamity, but if it have the effect, as promised, of stimulating railway construction, a future benefit will have been purchased by present evil. The system pursued in

opening up new districts in South Africa has hitherto been the reverse of that of the United States. There, as Mr. Scott Montagu points out in his article in the *Nineteenth Century*, railway construction invariably precedes population, which settles along the newly opened line. In Rhodesia, the railway has, on the contrary, followed the settler, sometimes at a considerable distance, and with the inevitable inconveniences attendant on that course of action. Thus the township of Umtali has had to be shifted with due compensation to its inhabitants, in order to obviate the necessity of taking the Beira railway out of its course, and over a steep gradient, to reach it.

The year 1895-96 has unfortunately been one of comparative stagnation in railway construction, perhaps owing to the diversion of energy at headquarters to political intrigue instead. Thus, while the Vryburg-Mafeking section of the Bechuanaland railway was opened in October 1895, an extension of fifty miles to Rabatse, and that only half ballasted, was all that had been added in the August following. The progress of the Beira line had also slackened at the same time, but Mr. Rhodes, on August 13th, telegraphed orders that the section from Umtali to Salisbury should be immediately surveyed, and its opening as far as the Portuguese frontier station of Massikesse is promised on December 1st. Meantime it is already at Chimoio, beyond the fly belt which forms thence to the sea an impassable obstacle to the transit of animals, and a good waggon road runs from its terminus to Fort Salisbury.

It may well be, that the Chartered Company, incomparable as has been the pioneering work done by it, has now played its part, and that even irrespective of recent events the time had come when its widening responsibilities would be more fittingly borne by the broad shoulders of the Imperial Government. In these days, when No-Man's-Land is relegated to the Poles, and Europe meets us in every continent, the methods of the last century are no longer applicable, and military power cannot be entrusted to private hands without the risk of rupturing somewhere the complicated web of our foreign relations. The peace of the empire must be guaranteed wherever the flag of the empire floats, and its neighbours' frontiers held as no less inviolable than its own. The second

conquest of Rhodesia, grievous as is the crisis which has necessitated it, will, we trust, lead to such a reorganisation of its defensive system, as to give this indispensable security.

With its growth and progress thus safeguarded, its natural advantages seem to promise it a great destiny as the Australia of the future. Like Australia, it has indeed many of the drawbacks incidental to countries where nature is as yet modified by man. In some places, the "sour" veldt produces herbage noxious to the animals that graze on it, and these latter are everywhere liable to diseases unknown elsewhere. The prevalence of horse sickness, again, renders any but a "salted" animal, or one that has recovered from the disease, useless in the interior. Some form of inoculation ought to prove a preventive, while the domestication of the zebra, hitherto found proof against the poison, is being tried in order to furnish a substitute. This and other local affections will probably disappear with habitation and culture, just as the noxious qualities of the herbage have been eliminated from the "tame" veldt of Matabeleland, eaten down for generations by the numerous herds of the inhabitants.

The following description of this latter country by Mr. Knight, *The Times* correspondent, in the volume which appears among our headings, may serve as a specimen of the character of the High Veldt:

As I saw it in early morning, it was as delicious a scene as could well be imagined. From the ridge on which I stood, I could see far over the country; isolated granite kopjies of curious formation, generally well wooded or covered with flowering bushes, and crowned at the top by great rocks, shaped like ruined castles, were scattered over the undulating veldt, across which wound many streams of clear water, flowing over sandy beds; ranges of wooded hills hemmed in amphitheatres of rich pasture full of a variety of beautiful flowers, the haunts of birds and gorgeous butterflies.

When one has travelled day after day across the flowery veldt, finding at certain seasons of the year a profusion of delicious wild fruits of many varieties, with which one could sustain life if one were lost; when one beholds the magnificent crops which reward the lazy Kaffir for a mere scratching of the soil, but a soil inexhaustibly rich, replenished as it is each rainy season by the disintegrating granite of the kopjies, one realises that the title of the Promised Land was not altogether wrongly bestowed on this fair region.

As an instance of what may be done by scientific farming

in Africa, the writer describes the condition of an estate of 6000 acres owned by a Mr. Taylor in the Marico Valley, in the Transvaal, which, formerly considered swampy and malarious, has been rendered perfectly healthy by drainage and cultivation. Taken up thirteen years ago as a tract of wilderness, it has now been made to "blossom like the rose," and English flowers, fruits, and vegetables flourish equally well with the lemons, oranges, and pomegranates of the tropics. The surplus water of the summer floods is impounded by three large dams for the irrigation of the winter crops of wheat, barley, and oats, during the dry season. Maize, potatoes, and pumpkins are grown in summer, and need no artificial supply of water. Most of the land is let on the *metayer* system, Mr. Taylor furnishing to the occupier a house, an allotment of cleared and irrigated land, seed corn, and the use of necessary implements, with free rights of pasture and fuel, against a rent consisting of half the agricultural produce. There is no written agreement, and the landlord can resume possession at will after the crops are divided, while the tenant is equally free to throw up his holding. A farmer without capital can make substantial profits on this system, and Mr. Knight instances one, who, within six months of taking up an allotment, when he possessed nothing save a waggon and a team of oxen, had received £450 for his share of half the produce, and calculated that his earnings for the year would amount to £600, while his expenses in boys' wages, &c., during the same period, would not exceed £100. Another settler who had arrived five years previously, burdened with a debt of £300, had paid it off, and earned altogether £3000 during his tenancy.

The Kaffirs living on the estate, to the number of some hundreds, are allowed free pasture and as much land as they can clear for themselves, in return for a month's labour in the year, during which they are allowed rations but no pay. Similar instances can be cited of the productiveness of land in Matabeleland, but on condition that there is capital to expend on it in the first instance. There, as elsewhere, "prairie value," apart from the outlay of money, or its equivalent in labour, may be represented by a zero. Large profits, on the other hand, may be realised on money judiciously invested.

A case in point is that of a young man known to the writer, who having received, as one of the original "Conquistadors," a volunteer farm of 6000 acres, about twelve miles from Bulawayo, at a nominal quit-rent of 10s., and added to it by the purchase of an adjoining tract, laid it out as an irrigated vegetable and dairy farm for the supply of the township. Until the present disastrous year, it was paying dividends of 15 per cent., and though its cattle have been looted and its buildings burned down by the Matabele, its owner is still confident in the recuperative power of the country, and looks to its future without apprehension.

Volunteer farms, granted, like this, as the fee of military service, were transferable, and sold after the war, at prices ranging from £45 to £150 each, but to the ordinary grants by the Chartered Company of 3000 acres, at a rent of 1s. 6d. an acre, the condition of *bonâ fide* settlement and occupation was attached.

Mr. Rhodes' dream of seeing an English Johannesburg, a new Golden City of the Veldt, spring up in the country named after him, will have to wait some time for its realisation. As yet the lucky number has not been drawn by any of the numerous prospectors in search of it, but in the vast extent of auriferous reef throughout Rhodesia, it is likely to lie buried somewhere. Meanwhile, many of the mines already opened only await the cheapening of transport to become lucrative concerns, but nothing save a veritable bonanza could pay for the conveyance of machinery hundreds of miles by ox-waggon. The extent of the mineralised area is illustrated by Mr. Knight's statement that the claims pegged out at the date of his visit (1894), would have formed a continuous belt of 1400 miles. Rhodesia, in the inevitable reaction after the first exaggerated estimates of its mineral wealth, has now come to be unduly depreciated, as an Eldorado *manqué*, and its gold deposits, previously predicted to be as rich as the bullion vaults of the Bank of England, are now disparaged as segregated veins which pinch out in the deeper workings, like those of the "Lagenian Mines" of the poet. Mr. Hays-Hammond, the mining expert, takes a more favourable view of them, declaring his belief, as quoted by Mr. Knight, that all the geological indications are favourable, that the reefs are true

fissures, implying their continuance to considerable depths, and that the quartz veins are similar to those of California, carrying free gold, iron, copper, pyrites, galena, and zinc blends. "Of course" he added, "only by thorough and extensive development can the pay-shoots on the reefs be found and followed up, but pay-shoots there are."

Mr. Halder, a mining engineer, returned a few weeks ago from Buluwayo, where he has been settled for two and half years with his family, is equally sanguine as to the mining capabilities of Rhodesia. In an interview with a representative of Reuter's Agency, he expressed his conviction that with time we shall see from it an excellent output of the precious metal, and that gold in payable quantities is widely distributed over its territory in quartz reefs, some of which are very rich and offer great facilities for economic working. "There are many in Rhodesia," he said, "which have proved richly gold-bearing at depths of 300 ft. and 400 ft., with every sign of remaining as rich to an indefinite depth. In most cases, the appearances go to show that the reefs are true fissures." His confidence in the future of Rhodesia is shared, he says, by all his professional friends, and his sincerity is avouched by his determination to "back his opinion," by returning thither as soon as possible with his family.

The gold diggers of the nineteenth century have hitherto followed on the track of their prehistoric predecessors, taking the older workings as their guides in the selection of claims. So great was the industry of the ancients that they removed the whole of the alluvial gold, and its former presence can only now be traced by the remains of their excavations for it. The monuments of the early civilisation which they brought with them, long submerged beneath successive deluges of barbarism, have recently been re-discovered, and the origin of their constructors at least conjecturally traced. The conclusions of Mr. Theodore Bent, whose work was noticed by us in a former article on South Africa,* are now generally accepted, and they are assumed to be of Phœnician origin, despite the absence of any known example of a settlement of this people remote from the sea-coast. The gap which separates the

* "Mashunaland and its Neighbours," DUBLIN REVIEW, January 1894.

ruins of the Great Zimbabwe from recent history, has been partially bridged by the researches of Mr. Wilmot, and his volume on "Monomotapa" throws some light on an intermediate period when the Land of Gold, of which they form so strange a feature, was known to exist, and was already identified with the Ophir of Scripture.

The Portuguese of the Zambesi and the coast found themselves, in the sixteenth century, in contact with the powerful native state known to them as the Empire of Monomotapa, and the stories which reached them of its wealth and civilisation, caused its ruler to rank in their minds with that other mythical African potentate, Prester John. These reports fired the zeal of an apostle, and Father Gonzalez Silveira, a Portuguese Jesuit, determined on attempting the forlorn hope of the conversion of its dusky population. The story of his heroic journey has been already told in these pages,* and we need only recall to our readers how, after reaching Zimbaoe and converting its king, with his mother and 300 of his court, he fell a victim to Mohammedan intrigue, and was put to death on March 18th, 1561. The religious vicissitudes of Monomotapa, where an Arab Iman or prince from Mozambique played the part of the evil genius of Christianity, seems thus to prefigure those of Uganda in recent years. Yet the faith survived this first persecution, for a letter written in 1630 by a Father Louis, a Dominican priest of Goa, to his Provincial in Portugal, discovered by Mr. Wilmot in the Vatican archives, records a massacre of Christians by the Emperor of Monomotapa. The writer goes on to narrate how he had avenged the slaughter of his co-religionists by leading an army against their persecutor, defeating him in two sanguinary engagements, after which he had marched to Zimbabwe, and placed Manura, the uncle of the vanquished ruler, on his throne. The conversion of this monarch with his consort, and the dedication of a church in honour of Our Lady of the Rosary, crowned the triumph of Christianity, which was followed up by the despatch of ten missionaries from Portugal to Monomotapa. But with the letter of the Goan Dominican, this long-forgotten chapter of African history abruptly closes, and the curtain falls for

* "Mission of the Zambesi," DUBLIN REVIEW, January 1882.

ever on the Empire of Monomotapa, its Christian ruler, and its infant church. Obliterated, doubtless, by some surge of savage invasion from the north, it vanishes from the scene of its power and glory without leaving a trace behind.

The identity of the name of its capital with that of the great ruins of Mashonaland, must not be interpreted to mean that the sites were the same. That of the royal city of Monomotapa is established beyond cavil by the name of Mossengesses applied to the river on which it stood, into which the body of Father Silveira was thrown, identifying it with the Umsingesi of our modern maps. The latter is a tributary of the Zambesi, into which it falls below Zumbo, after passing near Mount Darwin to the north of Fort Salisbury, in a comparatively short course. Its confluence with the greater stream was the scene, too, of the romantic legend which Father Alphonsus Leo, sixty years later, found current among the natives, that the remains of the apostle had been stranded on an island close by, where they were guarded by the wild beasts and birds of the forest. The word Zimbabwe is itself not a local, but a descriptive epithet, signifying a royal residence, so that Mr. Bent was obliged to distinguish the site of the ruins explored by him as "the Great Zimbabwe."

The church of Our Lady did not, then, stand beside the Phœnician temple where the rites of the Syrian Ashtaroth had doubtless once been celebrated, but far to the north in the basin of the Zambesi, whither the Jesuit missionaries of to-day hope to push their way. In the articles already referred to, their efforts towards this distant goal have been chronicled, and the story told of their advance on the track of the pioneers of Mashonaland, to the model farm established by them at Shishawasha, twelve miles to the north-east of Fort Salisbury. Their property there must have suffered in the general devastation, but no lives were lost, and the Fathers and their dependents were all brought safely into the township by one of the patrol columns. Cordial recognition has been extended to their services in the cause of progress by all the officials of the Chartered Company, and a high eulogium is passed on them in the pages of one of the most recent contributions to the history of South Africa. Major Glyn Leonard, who in a volume published last August tells in rather out-

spoken fashion the story of the advance of Mashonaland, intersperses his very candid criticism of his colleagues and superiors with many a good word for the priests and nuns. For the latter, Dominican Sisters who went up to take charge of the hospital at Fort Salisbury, he seems to have had a special admiration, and pays the following tribute to their courage and devotion :

Nothing has daunted the Sisters, who think of nothing beyond their duty, and who perform it, not as if it were a duty, but a religion that secures them happiness and pleasure only. Going about it as they do, so quietly, and with a manner so unassuming, as if they were doing nothing out of the way, they do the work of menials, washing and cooking, and not allowing the natives to do anything but fetch and carry. And yet they are always so thoughtful and so kind, all smiles and sunshine, and it is no wonder the men in hospital worship them as ministering and merciful angels. An adoration that has assumed a very practical shape, in the presentation of a purse of money from each troop in both forces, many of the troopers whose pay is only 2s. a day, subscribing a guinea or two apiece. Needless to say that this money all goes to the church and not to themselves, and when we consider that all this sacrifice is given simply for love and from the heart, we can realise the devotion that prompts it, and form some estimate of what the Sisters are like. I am glad of this opportunity of saying something for them, but recollect that no words of mine and no estimate can adequately express the good they are doing.

All who have been in Rhodesia would fully endorse this panegyric on the Sisters and extend similar testimony to the work of the Jesuit Fathers. The teaching and example of the latter are the salt that savours many a rough mining camp, in the land where their martyred *confrère*, three hundred years ago, laid down his life in pegging out a spiritual "claim for posterity."

Although the eventual success of the British arms was always a foregone conclusion, the struggle was a more arduous one than was at first anticipated. Notwithstanding the indomitable spirit and valour displayed by small volunteer patrols, in fighting large bodies of rebels wherever they met them, it was not until the arrival on the scene of Sir Frederick Carrington, with the concentration of purpose conferred by a single supreme command, that any real progress was made towards the suppression of the insurrection. Even then, the

campaign in the Matoppo Hills was by no means a one-sided affair, and the Matabele made many desperate stands in well-chosen and partially fortified positions. The Cape "boys," the miscellaneous Kaffir and half-caste races comprising a quarter of a million of the population of British South Africa, showed great fighting capability, storming the kopjies which form the natural strongholds of the Veldt. The raw material of a local militia is perhaps here ready to be turned to account for the future garrisoning of Rhodesia. For it is abundantly evident that the lives and property of the settlers can never again be entrusted to the guardianship of the Matabele police, who showed themselves ready to turn against them the weapons with which they had been armed for their defence.

The events of the past six months have left British statesmanship, or rather the energy and tenacity of the British character, much to retrieve and many difficult knots to untie, either by diplomacy or the sword. Major Leonard, who speaks with authority as one of the organisers of the pioneer advance on Mashonaland, expresses his conviction that the Jameson episode, by forcing on a question of which only time could bring a satisfactory solution, has thrown back South Africa for at least twenty years, and that the Matabele-Mashona outbreak was its direct consequence. He believes, nevertheless, that there is a glorious future before the country if we only remain true to ourselves.

"For, in spite of the present crisis," he adds, "I still call Rhodesia a great success, a living monument of British intelligence and enterprise, and I predict that, within thirty years, it will, or at least ought to be, the fairest and richest province in the continent of so-called darkness." To believe otherwise would be to doubt the capabilities of the Anglo-Saxon race, and to question its power of rallying in face of a great emergency.

ELLEN M. CLERKE.

ART. III.—AN IDLE HOUR AMIDST THE ART BOOKS OF 1895.

EXCEPT to *ex professo* art students, the treasures contained in our National Art Library at South Kensington seem to be known but to a few. Every week great and valuable additions are being made to the priceless collections of photographs, books, old and new, which make it a storehouse of material for Art education. The present librarian unites the two qualifications of a literary man and art student of very high attainments, and his short rule has brought the riches of the library into much easier access, thanks to his admirable re-arrangement of its contents. We venture to give, rather at haphazard, a brief notice of a few of the works lately acquired, and which were published during the past year.

Der Albanipsalter in Hildesheim und seine Beziehung zur symbolischen Kirchen-Sculptur des XII. Jahrhunderts, von Adolf Goldschmidt. Berlin. 1895.

This work, which deserves the attention of every student of ecclesiastical symbolism, is doubly interesting to us, because the Psalter which it describes, if not of actual English origin, was formerly the property of the English Benedictine House of Lambspring.

The capital letters, with a *naïveté* quite delicious, represent under very concrete forms the meaning of the text of which the letters are the initials. There is, among the photographic full-sized reproductions of the illuminations, one of the death of St. Alban. The symbolism of the MS. is illustrated by a number of examples from other sources. Of these the glorious Romanesque façade of the Scots church at Ratisbon is a signal instance.

Gerard David, Painter and Illuminator, by W. H. JAMES WEALE, Keeper of the National Art Library. London: 1895. *The Portfolio*, December, 1895.

Among the monographs of artists published in the *Portfolio* during the last six months of the past year, all admirable in their

respective spheres, that upon Gerard David is the most valuable. Mr. Weale, the greatest living authority on Low-Country mediæval art, is practically the discoverer of this marvellous painter. Very noteworthy is his remark that Flemish art in the Middle Ages is a misnomer ; for, though Bruges and Ghent by their wealth attracted painters from afar, these were mostly from what we now call the Dutch provinces, or they were Walloons. Few, if any, were Flemings. The superb painting of *The Canon with his patron Saints*, in the National Gallery, invites the attention of every one who is at all possessed of any art perception by the brilliance of its colour, its exquisite draughtsmanship, and the delicacy of its every detail. But lately a second painting of our artist has been added to the collection by the generosity of the late Mrs. Lyne Stephens, who bequeathed to the nation the *Marriage of St. Catharine*, one of the finest examples of Gerard David. It goes without saying that the text of this memoir is up to the high standard of the learned author's writings. We regret not to have space to do more than call attention to Mr. Henry Ady's monograph in the August ('95) number of the *Portfolio*, on *Raphael in Rome*, a subject most attractive, as describing the very apogee of art, and picturing the Renascence in the brightest colours and from its best side.

The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of England and Wales, by the late LEWELLYN JEWITT, F.S.A. Edited and completed by W. H. St. John Hope, M.A.

The learned and experienced Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, Mr. St. John Hope, opens to us in this, his work—for it may well bear his name—a rich mine for antiquarians, and a complete record of that treasury of art metal-work which lies hid in our various town-halls. We cannot but note the laudable pride which London showed in placing its illustrious martyr son, St. Thomas à Becket, side by side on its seal with its glorious co-patron St. Paul, and recalling his birthplace in the legend,

Me quem te peperit
Ne cessa Thoma tueri.

And, again, we call attention to the valuable illustration

afforded by the seal of Rochester of its venerable old castle, now happily being preserved from neglect and ruin.

Les Vitraux des Ordres, au Grand Séminaire de Besançon, par Felix Gaudin. Paris. 1895. In the days when Renaissance architecture is coming to the front for our churches, these illustrations of admirably treated ecclesiastical and symbolic windows of the days of Louis XIV. are valuable as types of such work.

Nuovo Bollettino di Archeologia Cristiana. N. 1 e 2. Rome. 1895.

This publication takes the place of the old *Bollettino* of Cavaliere Rossi. The first number, two numbers in one, gives promise of great interest.

Histoire de Bordeaux, par CAMILLE JULLIAN. Bordeaux. 1895.

The municipality of Bordeaux has published a very complete history of their city, rivalling the history of Lyons, which has lately appeared. The author writes apparently in the lofty atmosphere of modern thought, undisturbed by prejudice of religion, yet respectful, in a literary form at least, to its practices and belief. His high ideal of municipal liberties will, however, win for him the best sympathies of English readers. The work is carefully written, clear, well divided, and well illustrated. The author does not seem to know the able publication, by Father Moisant, S.J., for his doctorate, of Simon Islip's *Speculum Regis Edwardi III.*, which deals largely with the English administration of Guyenne.

Cathédrales de France. Paris. 1895.

A portfolio of 157 excellent photographs of the French cathedrals, at the modest price of 40 francs, is a seductive collection. The chief feature of these churches is, *first*, that they are usually in an unfinished state; and, *secondly*, their strange amalgam of every style from the early Romanesque to the frigid classicism of the *Louis XV.* period. But both the interiors and the details are, as a whole, far above anything we can show on this side of the Channel, and the very mixtures of styles adds marvellously to their attractions.

The History of Modern Painting, by Richard Muther. In three volumes. Vols. I. and II. London. 1895.

Muther's work on Art has achieved a great success in Germany. The translation is excellent; but it cannot, for English readers, take the place of books written from an English standpoint. Neither can it be a guide to Catholic students of art, for his ideal seems purely naturalistic. In spite of his criticisms and the inferior examples which he gives, how the handiwork of the Dusseldorf school stands out as a dignified protest against the flesh and blood of irreligious art, and as a lofty and graceful ideal!

L'Appennino Modenese, Rocca S. Casciano. 1895.

An octavo volume of nearly 1200 pages about a corner of Italy of which hardly the name of one place is known beyond its frontiers, is a sign of ardent love of one's own hearthstone. Each subject—the flora, the geology, history, &c.—is treated by a different hand. The whole is indexed, and no one can now complain that the highlands of Modena have not been fully described. The modern history is all *Italianissimo* in sentiment.

Beschreibende Darstellung der älteren Bau-und Kunstdenkmäler des Königreichs Sachsen. Stadt Leipzig (I. Theil), Bearbeitet von Cornelius Gurlitt. Dresden. 1895.

This volume contains most complete accounts of several of the chief churches of Leipsic, which the Lutherans, less iconoclastic than their Calvinist brethren, have left almost uninjured. The paintings, sculptures, and glass, as well as the fabrics, remain much as they were in mediæval days, and are of great interest.

Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst. VIII. Jahrg, Düsseldorf. 1895.

The chief feature of the recent numbers of this serial is the description of the new church of Our Lady at Düsseldorf, which, if not in all its parts perfectly satisfactory, is a noble building, and worthy to stand side by side with many of the pre-Reformation churches of Germany. It is in the middle Pointed style, and has two western towers with spires.

Die Bau-und Kunstdenkmäler von Westfalen, Kreis Hörde von A. Ludorff. Münster. 1894.

This is another object-lesson of German care and completeness in the county histories of Fatherland. In a corner of Westphalia we meet again, in churches which have fallen into Protestant hands, with the most exquisite pre-Reformation work. Take, for example, the church in Schwerte, with its mediæval reredos rising right up nearly to the vaults, tryptical in form, with thirteen compartments—not to speak of the retro-altar—rich in sculpture in high relief, crowned by a figure of Our Lady and Child, while, at either side and in front, two graceful shafts detached bear figures of angels, with candelabra in hand.

Architektonische und ornamentale Details hervorragender Bauwerke Italiens im Byzantinischen Styl, von A. Dehli. Serie I. and II. Berlin and New York.

These working drawings of Italian Byzantine details have a special interest to us, since that style has been selected for our great English Cathedral. The whole of the first series is taken from Ravenna; others are from Venice.

St. John's, Clerkenwell, with notes by JOHN UNDERHILL, and illustrations by William Monk, R.P.E. London. 1895.

In a magnificent folio of but few pages, Mr. Underhill tells the history of the rise and fall of the old Priory of the Knights of St. John, at Clerkenwell. The brave old Grand-Prior of England, Sir William Weston, lies in effigy within what now remains of the old church. The subsequent history of this building has its own interest. The British and home-made branch of the Knights of St. John, newly created, is a curious tribute to the greatness of the old. It is well worth a Catholic's time to visit this spot, one of the few survivals of old London, with its memories of B. Adrian Fortescue and of his two martyr companions, knights, all three, of St. John.

Épidaure, restauration et description. Texte par HENRI LECHAT, relevés et restaurations par ALPH DEFASSE. Paris. 1895.

Another history of old days and of ancient buildings on a

still grander scale. Two Frenchmen, one an architect, another a professor, both formerly students of the French School at Athens, reproduce by careful study the ruins of Epidaurus.

Di un preteso tesoro cristiano de' primi secoli, dal Padre H. GRISAR, S.J. Rome. 1895.

This is an Italian translation of Father Grisar's article which appeared last year in the *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* of Innsbruck. It goes to show that a well-known find of early Christian goldsmith's work, accepted as such by Rossi, is a clumsy forgery of modern hands. The original discovery forms the subject of a large work by Gian Carlo Rossi. (*Commenti sopra suppelletili sacre di argento ed oro*. Rome, 1890. Cf. *Tavole xxv. reproducenti*, &c. Rome, 1890).

Rückwart's Sammlung von Kirchenbauten Kanzeln, &c., sowie Grabdenkmälen. Auswahl aus architektonischen Studienblätter ausgewählt von H. Ende. Berlin.

This is a mingling of old and new. But the ancient work carries off the palm. It is only fair to say that in the collection are the façades of Cologne and Strassburg Cathedrals. Sankt Marienkirche, Lubeck, a simple and lofty mediæval church preserves a splendid *Jubé* supported on eight columns, with five openings. The screen over these arches is divided into eight large panels painted with figures of Saints, while between and in front of them are statues, Our Lady and Child occupying the middlemost place. A big clock face with rays tops the big communion table reredos, in strange contrast with all around. The modern synagogues of Germany are very much to the fore. The modern Protestant churches are bold renderings of old work and might be studied with advantage by English architects as good specimens of town churches, saving their galleries, which, however, are not too obtrusive. The details of the pulpits, candelabra, and decorations are very excellent.

But Aachen, Munster, of which the exterior of the choir is given, is perhaps the most perfect work in the collection, whether we consider the proportions of the whole or the exquisite symmetry of the niches and panelling with which buttresses and outer walls are clothed and crowned.

Die Jesuitenkirche zu Dillingen, ihre Geschichte und Beschreibung, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Mesters ihrer Fresken Christoph Thomas Scheffler, 1700-1756, von Dr. Oscar Freiherrn Lochner v. Hüttenback. Stuttgart. 1895.

The careful history of the well-known Jesuit College of Dillingen, connected as it is with memories of St. Stanislaus, of B. Peter Canisius, and of Cardinal Otto Truchsess cannot be without interest. The church is of the severest domestic style of the beginning of the seventeenth century. Within, its pulpit, altars, vaults are rich with the rococo of a century later. The frescoes of Scheffler are graceful examples of a bad period of art.

Deneuvre et Baccarat. Par C. BERNHARDT. Nancy. 1895.

History and Antiquities of the Church and Parish of St. Lawrence, Thanet. By CHARLES COTTON. London. 1895.

History of the Town and Port of Fordwich. By Rev. C. EVELEIGH WOODRUFF, M.A. Canterbury. 1895.

Here we have three careful histories of places, which though of no great importance show how much can be learnt of any spot. The French work, exhaustive and admirably illustrated, goes back to the first days of the two villages, and tells with sympathy their sorrows under the impieties of the Revolution. St. Lawrence's, Thanet, with its very early Norman tower, is described with a fulness which is almost wearisome. But the work on Fordwich presents the most interest of the three, as it is an old corporate town and an appendage of the Cinque Ports, possessing its mediæval Costumal, printed here in full.

The Architectural Record. New York. 1895.

The three numbers of this publication of the last year are eminently suggestive. Mr. Caryl Coleman's article on Christian Altars has a large series of illustrative photogravures of altars, ancient and modern, of which the reredos of Winchester Cathedral, lately restored by Mr. Buckler, is the noblest, and a modern altar of the Catholic Cathedral of New York is the weakest and poorest in design and execution. The latter is a fair type of the hackneyed Caen stone erection, with many

[No. 20 of Fourth Series.]

pinnacles and many statues, which repeats itself again and again in our modern English Catholic churches.

Again, Mr. Rich's articles on "Architecture in Spain," in the same work, give very choice photogravures of some glorious work, comparatively little known. But perhaps the most interesting is the last number with the works of the great American architect, the late Mr. Richard Morris Hunt. The splendour, for example, of the "Breakers," the palace of Cornelius Vanderbilt, may well surprise those who do not know what excellent art subserves the wealth of American millionaires.

The Sculptures in the Lady Chapel at Ely, with descriptions. By MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES. London. 1895.

Mr. James has made a laudable and successful effort to identify the exquisite but mutilated sculpture that surrounds the Lady Chapel of Ely. The life of the Blessed Mother of God, and a number of miracles wrought by her intercession, make up the series. The whole is illustrated by photographic reproductions.

Pagan Ireland. By W. G. WOOD-MARTIN, M.R.I.A. London. 1895.

St. Multose Church, Kinsale. By JOHN LINDSEY DARLING. Cork. 1895.

St. Multose seems to have been a nephew of St. David of Wales and brother of two other Celtic saints, the founder, possibly, of the monastery, and so of the town, of Kinsale. The church with its memories of the Southwells and Galweys, and with the old Catholic tombstones, was badly pulled about in the eighteenth century. Mr. Darling has given a careful and interesting account of the whole.

These two books are excellent proofs of the interest paid to the archæology of more than one period by Irish scholars.

The first gives a very clear and exhaustive account of Pre-Christian Ireland. Both the works prove how local inspection of historic sites repays the traveller.

The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Forty-sixth yearly session. Meeting for the Province of Connaught at

Galway, July 8, 1895. Illustrated programme of excursions. Dublin. 1895.

A most interesting programme it certainly is, including a sail from Belfast to Galway taking in the many islands on the way. It shows how much is to be seen besides, its beautiful wild scenery, in the West of Ireland.

Bibliographica. Parts vi. and viii. London.

This number is specially interesting to Catholics, because in his second article on "Provincial Presses" Mr. Allnutt, of the Bodleian, treats of the secret printing presses employed by the Jesuit Fathers during the persecutions of Elizabeth, as a great weapon of defence. At Green Street House, East Ham—now known as Boleyn Castle and used as a Catholic Industrial School—Fr. Parsons set up his first press. After three of his works had been brought out, he was forced to transplant the press to Stonor Park, where B. Edmund Campion printed his famous *Decem Rationes*. An interesting autograph of Fr. Parsons, written in the copy presented by Lord Bute to Stonyhurst, appears in this article, and tells the story of the short-lived undertaking. For, very soon after, the whole body of printers were seized by the Government officials.

In P. viii. Mr. Plomer treats of John Rastall, the printer, and connection of Blessed Thomas More. One at least of his works was the reverse of edifying, and when in 1530 he published his *New Booke on Purgatory*, he was an author as well as a printer. He was now met by a Protestant writer, one John Frith, and abandoned his religion and became a Protestant.

A Guide to the Paintings of Venice. By KARL KAROLY. London. 1895.

This excellently illustrated and portable guide forms at once a careful handbook and a beautiful souvenir of the art treasures of Venice.

History of Bolsover, &c. By F. ANDREWS DOWNMAN. Published by subscription.

Mr. Downman has given us a painstaking, but hardly an interesting account of the old Derbyshire stronghold. The

author's assertion that the faith and services of the Catholic Church "have remained the same in all essential points" in the old church of Bolsover, is in harmony with his statement that the "Roman Nonconformists" have a "chapel" (*sic*) at Spink Hill.

The Archæologia Oxoniensis, P. vi. of 1895, gives a paper on the surbase of the shrine of St. Frideswide, rebuilt in 1890 in Christ Church, Oxford. The exquisitely graceful and naturalistic foliage with which it is adorned, apart from its sacred memories, gives it great value.

Der heilige Bernward von Hildesheim. Von STEPHEN BEISSEL. S.J. Hildesheim. 1895.

Father Beissel has put the art world under a fresh obligation by his exhaustive and admirably illustrated monograph of St. Bernward of Hildesheim. That city largely owes its treasures to the artistic Bishop; and, though the Cathedral is shorn of much of its external beauty, its bronze gates, its candelabrum, its sculptured column, and illuminated books are standing memorials of the genius of the saintly pastor.

Fra Giovanni Angelico da Fiesole. Sein leben und seine werke von Stephen Beissel, S.J. Freiburg im Breisgau. 1895.

Fr. Beissel has given us a careful and original life of the great Dominican painter, Fra Angelico. The illustrations are not comparable to those of many of the splendid art work of the day, but they are well chosen and illustrate very fairly the general characteristics of the saintly painter.

Monumenti di Benevento. Da Almerico Meomartini. Benevento. 1895.

The old Papal city of Benevento, with its arch of Trajan, its Roman bridges, its early churches, its Cathedral with its bronze gates and mediæval *ambones*, has at last obtained a learned author to describe with the detail of an architect and the knowledge of an archæologist its many treasures.

Sir Frederic Leighton. By F. G. STEPHENS. London. 1895.

This work, though published before the death of the former President of the Royal Academy, is an excellent memorial of

his refined and graceful genius. The letterpress follows him through his life and gives additional chapters on his sculpture, book illustrations, on his house, and his critics. If his art greatly developed after his first and great success, the "Procession of Cimabue's Picture," he perhaps never rose higher as a painter and composer.

Dessins inédits de Viollet-le-Duc. Paris. 1895

Somewhat disappointing is this collection of a great architect's designs.

The altars, possibly for lack of funds, jejune and too much like so many of our modern English altars, suggestive of domestic furniture rather than of a religious monument, have little in common with the splendid works of Germany or Spain.

Lucas Cranach. Berlin. 1895.

This is a splendid work of colossal size. The reformer painter, with his great engravings of Luther and Melancthon, no flattering portraits, and of Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, drawn the same year, 1520, appeals but little to a Catholic eye.

The Madonna and Child. Six photo-mezzo engravings of pictures belonging to the Italian school in the National Gallery, By EDWARD GILBERT. London. 1895.

This selection of Madonnas by various masters, varying from Bellini to Sassoferrato, perhaps contains the most beautiful of the representations of Our Lady by Italian masters in our National collection in Trafalgar Square. The photo-mezzo is a very exquisite method of reproduction. The appreciations of Mr. Gilbert are just, though he looks on the paintings as Renaissance types of human love in the Incarnation!

Etching, Drypoint, Mezzotint, the whole art of the Painter-Etcher. By HUGH PATON. London. 1895.

To one who is not an expert this work seems to do all a written work can do to initiate an embryo etcher into his delicate work. There is a careful description of methods, tools, &c.

Old Chester. By H. CRICKMORE

A gossipy book, with uncertain etchings, artistic possibly, but vague and hardly satisfactory. The graver's art can scarcely cope with the camera in accuracy when dealing with architectural detail.

Modern English Art. Reproduction of some of the pictures in the loan collection at the Guildhall, 1895. With descriptions. By A. G. TEMPLE. London. 1895.

A splendid reproduction of a very representative collection of some of our most eminent painters.

The Life of Joseph Wolf, Animal Painter. By A. H. PALMER. London. 1895.

The well known German animal painter has found a loving hand to write his simple story; and his wonderful works in drawings and paintings of the brute creation are well reproduced to illustrate this work.

Silber und Goldschatz der Hohenzollern im königlichen Schlosse zu Berlin. Von PAUL SEIDEL. Berlin.

The plate of the Hohenzollerns is naturally not older than the dynasty. The volume is magnificent and most of the plates of good design, for the period to which it belongs; but only the goblets from Nürnberg at the close of the volume have any claim to elegance in form.

Die Baudenkmäler in Frankfurt am Main. Erste Lieferung. Frankfurt. 1895.

This interesting and admirably executed book on the ecclesiastical buildings of Frankfort has not the same magnificent subject which other cities of Germany would offer. The carved tryptic over one of the altars in the Dom is very noteworthy. All the figures are in high relief and of a good period.

Principles of Art as Illustrated in the Ruskin Museum. Compiled by WILLIAM WHITE. London. 1895.

This is the work of one of Mr. Ruskin's faithful followers and is largely composed of quotations, from the master's works published, or unpublished, and giving, therefore, his motive in the various sketches and pictures placed by him in the collection.

F. GOLDIE, S.J.

ART IV.—THE MÆDIEVAL SERVICE BOOKS OF AQUITAINE.

III.—LIMOGES.

IN spite of the number and greatness of the monastic houses which formerly flourished at Limoges and in the Limousin, the paucity of manuscripts in the municipal library is remarkable, and can only be explained by the dispersion before the Revolution of the precious documents preserved in the abbeys, and by the carelessness of the agents charged with the task of collecting the spoils of the smaller conventual libraries at that period.

The library of the great abbey of St. Martial ranked first in importance in the diocese. The oldest surviving catalogue of its contents dates from the end of the twelfth century, and contains 138 entries. When the abbey was secularised in 1535, the newly-installed canons had small regard for the literary treasures left by their Benedictine predecessors. In 1669 they entered into negotiations with Baluze for the sale of their manuscripts to Colbert. In 1730, two hundred and forty were purchased for the Bibliothèque du Roi, at a cost of 5000 livres. Though few in number, these MSS. form one of the most valuable collections ever acquired by the State. They nearly all belong to a period comprised between the ninth and thirteenth centuries. The various interesting discoveries already made in them is far from exhausting the mine—"malgré les travaux de plusieurs generations de savants . . . à chaque instant il faut recouvrir aux manuscrits de St. Martial."*

It is not my intention to deal with these MSS., which are easily accessible to students in their present resting-place in Paris, but to describe briefly the few liturgical service books which have found a home in their native diocese, and more particularly a valuable Troper which, though not of Limoges use, is now preserved in the library of that city, and hitherto seems to be unknown to English students of liturgy.

* Léopold Delisle, "Le Cabinet des MSS.," 1868, vol. i. pp. 387-395.

Among the Archives Departamentales at Limoges are two liturgical manuscripts:

1. Rituale with kalendar; from the priory of Auriel, thirteenth century, parchment, 56 fo., in ruinous condition.
2. Missale of Limoges, fifteenth century, vellum, imperfect.

In the Bibliothèque de la Ville (MS. 2): "Antiphonaire," more properly, a Gradual—Troper, with Proses, &c., all in musical notation. Date, second half of xiii. cent.; parchment, illuminated, original wooden binding, covered with green silk figured in yellow design, two copper clasps, gilt edges on which appear eleven coats of arms. Clean and in good preservation, but first four folios missing.

This MS. was presented to the chapter of St. Junien in 1387, by Pascal Huguenot, who was abbot of St. Peter de Cultura, at Le Mans, from 1386 to 1399.*

He was by birth a Limousin, and according to the inscription on the first leaf of the binding—

dedit hunc librum in puram eleemosinam et in remissionem peccatorum suorum et parentum atque benefactorum ejusdem ecclesie collegiate Sancti Juniani . . . anno domini millesimo cccmo octogesimo septima die mensis Maii, et misit eum per Petrum de Magnaco dicte ecclesie, septima die mensis octobris anno prefato.

In this MS. there is nothing peculiar to the use of Limoges, and no certain evidence of any particular locality to which it can be ascribed. It may have been compiled for a monastery of Benedictine nuns, a group of whom appear kneeling before the Madonna in the initial letter of the feast of the Assumption. The titular "St. Mary" occurs in the "Gloria laus et honor" of Palm Sunday in the verse—

Plebs quoque Sancte Marie veniamus ad atria sancta.

According to M. Louis Guibert, who has made a particular study of this MS., certain indications lead him to the supposition that it was written for the Abbey of the Holy Cross at Poitiers.†

At the foot of the first fo. there is a note in red ink:

* "Gall. Christiana," vol. xiv. p. 478.

† "Bulletin de la Soc. Arch. et Hist. du Limousin," tom. xxxv. (1888).

"Madame doit une pinte de vin pour Gloriasse et pour Sanctus et pour Agnus."

There are numerous initial letters in gold and colours containing various scenes. One of these miniatures represents a priest at the altar in the act of consecrating, with a clerk standing behind him waving the "flabellum."

This MS. contains over one hundred sequences, of which forty are in honour of the Blessed Virgin. Many of them appear in Kehrein's "*Lateinische Sequenzen*." The exuberant number of tropes merits attention.

On Christmas Day.—At the *Missa in aurora*, the Kyrie is the "Pater cuncta qui gubernas eleyson," with some verbal differences from the same Kyrie of the Hereford Missale of 1502. In *maiolem missam* is the Kyrie—"Rex virginum amator deus marie decus eleyson," the same as in the York and Hereford books.

Then follows the farsed "*Gloria in excelsis*" of Sarum.

S. Stephani.—The Kyrie—"Deus sempiterna vita vivens vite eleison" is the same as given in the Tropers of Worcester, St. Albans, and Dublin.*

The Epistle.—Attendez tuit a cest sermon

Et clerc et lai tuit en viron

Conter vos veils la passion

De Seint Estiene le Baron. &c. (134 lines in all, in the vulgar tongue.)

Martiris Thome.—Sequentia—"Dic Anglia cum matre, dic, ecclesia Alleluia." This prose has been printed by Drevés (*Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*. x. 316), who took it from the Missale Fontrebaldense of 1534.

In *die epiphanie*.—"Kyrie eleison fons bonitatis pater ingenite a quo bona cuncta procedunt eleyson." Common to Sarum, York, and Hereford.

Epistola.—Ce que ysaies nos escrit

de l'avenement ihesu crist

bien nos doit estre hui

en remembrance. &c. (94 lines).

In the four miniatures adorning the "*Exultet*" of Holy Saturday, the deacon is depicted in a blue dalmatic. There are four lessons, and vespers end with "*Deo dicamus gratias, alleluia, alleluia.*"

Then come the *Responsum de resurrectione*—"Christus resurgens," and the antiphon—

* "*The Winchester Troper*," edited by W. H. Frere, M.A., for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1894, p. 125.

Ante primam in claustrum.—Vultum tristem iam mutata
 Iesum vivum nunciate
 Iesus ille nazareus
 Vere fuit verus deus
 Licet nolit hoc iudeus.

The prose for the mass of the dead is “De profundis exclamantes audi Christe nostras voces in celestia curia.”

Then follows a collection of the greater tropes, some of which I have not found elsewhere, so give them in full.

Of the farsed kyries:

1. “Cunctipotens genitor deus omni creator.”
2. “Orbis factor rex eterne” are to be found in the books of Sarum, York, Hereford, &c.
3. “Rex genitor ingenite vera essentia” is in Sarum and Hereford.
4. “Clemens rector eterne pater immense” is in the Winchester Troper, p. 50.

5. “Rex pie da nobis hodie venie munus et gratie” is printed, with considerable verbal differences, in the “Histoire de la Poesie Liturgique au moyen age.” Leon Gautier, 1886, t. i., p. 149, from the St. Leonard MS., 1086, in the Bib. Nat., Paris.

6. Kyrie eleison.—Vñice xpiste qui es via lux veritas et pax eleison.

„ „ Trinus et unus est dominus rex eternus una cum patre manens eleison.

„ —et agnus est tolendus per omnia eleison.

Xpiste eleison.—O agie o theos kirrie et une ihesu bone eleison.

„ „ Tu lumen tu supernus et unus spiritus tu succure eleison

„ celi terre omnia amitte cum sanctis unge nos cum ipsis eleison.

Kyrie eleison.—Qui de supernis nos tuere oramus ad dominum.

ihesum conditorem et verum deum eleison.

„ „ Alme sanctorum precibus nos manere cum illis semper eleison.

Tibi laus et honor et sine fine permanens in eternum quicum omnia gaudent per infinita secula seculorum eleison.

This is indexed by Gautier as coming from the St. Martial MS. 887, in the Bib. Nationale.

7. Kyrie ex abrahe ab arce suprema mittens angelum tuum eleison.

Ad preparandum vias tuas et ad plebem perfectam eleison.

Qui ad patrem mittens Gabriel promere seriem eleison.

Xpe qui sanctificans iohannem clausum in matre eleison.

„ qui matrem tuam mittens ad matrem iohannis eleison.

„ quem iohannes senserat atque gavisus eleison.

Qui baptisatus a servo tuo iohanne eleison.

Qui in columbe specie apparens iohanni eleison.

Qui septem celis reserans vox patris audita
 fac nos te semper colere trine et une
 quem iohannes ostendat indice—eleison.

Although there is no rubric, this trope was evidently intended for use on the feast of St. John Baptist.

8. *Kath'rine virginis et mar.*

Kyrie lux claritatis sophie divine fons et origo sine fine eleyson.
 „ lux Catherine thesaurum divine et tulisti sapientie eleyson.
 „ qui Catherine dedisti hodie tante gloriam victorie eleyson.
 Xpiste unice patri proles celice qui es eidem patris
 deo unius usie indifferentis essentie—eleyson.
 „ unice infirmorum medice curans tuorum devotorum
 mala mirifice tue commemoram amice—eleison.
 „ unice amplexator amice quies tuarum amicarum
 preduleis amator et prelargus remunerator—eleison.
 Kyrie spiritus alme genitori genitoque permanens
 utrique manens ab utroque pariter—eleison.
 „ splendor divine qui beate Katherine cor illuminasti
 sacro linguam verbo dictasti—eleison.
 „ virtutum dator et earum conservator
 fer opem in fine comine [*sic*] moribus Catherine—eleison.

Laus Angelorum.

1. Gloria in excelsis Deo :—Cuius roborat in omni gloria mundo
 et in terra pax—pax perhempnis (*sic*)
 hominibus bonae voluntatis—qui deum diligunt in ueritate.
 Laudamus te—Te decet laus :
 Benedicimus te—de die in diem :
 Adoramus te—cum prece uoto himnis adsumus ecce tibi :
 Glorificamus te—quin sanctis gloriosus es :
 Gratias agimus tibi—de beneditiis tuis—(? beneficiis)
 propter magnam gloriam tuam—ammirabilem gloriam
 Domini Deus—Rex super omnes uiuus
 Rex celestis—Rex sine fine manens
 Deus Pater omnipotens—impetrans celo et terre et regens Maria
 Domine fili unigenite—Spes nostra
 Jesu christe—uenturum quem longe precinere prophete
 Domine Deus, Agnus Dei—tu uictima et hostia factus es crucis ara.
 Filius Patris—a Patre genitus ante secula :
 Qui tollis peccata mundi—quod perhibuit Johannes
 Miserere nobis—ne dampnemur cum impiis in adventu iudicis
 Qui tollis peccata mundi—qui nostram antiquam leuigasti sarcinam
 Suscipe deprecationem nostram—preces intende servorum ad te
 devote clamantium
 Qui sedes—in superne maiestatis arce
 ad dexteram Patris—Tu qui ad dexteram Patris almam sedens cum
 regnans coeternus per omnia
 miserere nobis—quia venit tempus miserendi.

Quoniam tu solus sanctus—sancte sanctorum Dei
 Tu solus Dominus—Dominus dominantium
 Tu solus Altissimus—supra celigenas etheris omnes
 Jesu Christi—qui manes in eternum
 Cum Sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris.—Amen.

Two notations for the following farsed "Gloria" are given ;
 and also two for the "Gloria" without additions.

2. Gloria in excelsis Deo—Deus Pater mundi factor.
 Domine fili unigenite ihesu xpe—Sancte spiritus.

There are six notations for the Sanctus of the Preface ; and
 six for Agnus Dei—three of which have the farse—qui sedes
 ad dexteram patris.

Then follows an Agnus Dei without notation but farsed :

1. Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, vulnere quorum lenimur omnes
 demonis arte, miserere nobis.
2. Agnus—mundi, inuiolate uirginis alme nate paterque—mis. nobis.
3. Agnus—mundi sanguinis unda pectora munda perpetuamque dona
 nobis pacem.

Then follow various antiphons to be sung at processions,
 and the

Epistola sancti iohannis baptiste.

Qui de dieu vient oïr parler
 taise se peut de lescoter
 je li dirai un boen sermon
 de Seint iohan le boen baron.

Lectio ysaie prophete

Entendez tuit grant et petit
 ce que seint ysaies dit
 par la grace de dieu le pere
 qui nos fist toz oïsser de mere,

&c. (56 lines).

Epistola de Nativitate domini nostri ihesu xpisti.

Boene genz por qui sauvement
 diex de char vestir se deigna
 et en bercel iut homblement
 qui tot le mont en sa men a
 rendons li graces doucement
 qui tant bien en sa vie oura
 et por nostre rachatement
 dus que a la mort s'umilia.

Lectio epistole beati pauli apostoli ad tytum.

Sains Pous envoie cest ditie
 a un soen deciple Tytum,

&c. (60 lines).

Epistola de assumptione sancte marie virginis.

Boen crestien un seul petit
oiez ce que salemons dist
de la Seinte virge honoree
qui de dieu est mere apelee

Lectio libri sapientie.

Sapience est apelée
la lecon qui ci est chantée
en l onour de sainte marie
qui de ciels a la seignourie,

&c. (94 lines).

Feria secunda post pascha.—The farsed Kyrie of St. Stephen's Day is repeated with a different notation for this feast.

Tropes of Benedicamus.

1. Benedicamus domino—qui de virgine natus utero venit ut nos redimeret a delicto
Deo—cui proprietas humana laude prole fecunda cui manet in eternum—gracias.
2. Benedicamus—corde domino laudes sonemus et cum cantico regi regum virginis filio qui natus est nostra redemptio
Deo—omnes agamus gracias cuius ad nos descendit deitas scanderet nostra fragilitas paradisi ad sedes lucidas.
3. O maria mater virgo que portasti alpha et omega
voce clara cum iubilo benedicamus domino.
O maria mater xpi que portasti adonay quem predixit ysayas deo dicamus gratias.
4. Benedicamus—maria virgo nobilis pulchra ut luna splendidissima sicut sol ora pro nobis—Domino.
Te deprecamur regina mundi domina ne pereamus in ista vita gravia (*sic*) sed Deo agamus gracias.
5. Eya pueri clangentes iubilo tinnulo magno qui parvos gloria coronat in celo benedicamus Domino.
De te iuventus resultet in laude consona item proclamat jugiter cum voce modula et respondeat Des gracias.
6. Benedicamus Domino ascenso in celo ihesu cristo alleluia
Des gracias iubilemus omnes in hac aula alleluia.
7. Benedicamus Domino spiritui paraclito alpha et omega deo nostro alleluia.
Deo gracias iubile . . . [*wanting*]
8. Benedicamus Domino—xpristo marie unigenito que hodie assumpta est in celo.
Deo dicamus gracias qui matrem suam in ethereas introduxit ad preclaras celi aulas die hodierna.
9. Benedicamus—flori orto ex stirpe iesse. qua processit virga virgo—domino.
Deo dicamus altitudo vociferationis iubilo regnanti desuper nos.

10. Benedicamus—benigno voto gracias qui cuncto residet mundo celo
arvo atque ponto domino sydereo.

Deo dicamus concio nostra devota ac mente pura dulciflua melodia
gracias multimodas.

Near the end of the volume appear tropes of "Sanctus"
and "Agnus Dei" in French.

Sanctus—beaus peres touz puissanz rois emperieres et dux
qui touz cens ies regnauz et si seras et fus
adorez soiez tu et ci et lasus.

Sanctus—Pere et fiz saint espirs trois persones sans pluz
yes en une sustance et autre Dex n'est nus
Trinitez t'aorons en unité par us,

&c. (24 lines).

Agnus Dei—cist aigneaus est li sires qui onques ne menti
que Dex essay de fame a nestre consenti
que elle ne fust maumise ne douleur ne senti
qui tollis peccata mundi—c'est cil que le pechié effaça et tolli
que Adam fist de la pome que sa fame cuilli
et a celle enfreinture tout li mont acuilli
miserere nobis—agneaus qui de celi pechié nous forz meis.

&c. (27 lines).

The French tropes in this MS. are in the Langue d'Oïl.

The epistles were sung by one or more clerks in copes, who accompanied the sub-deacon, and paraphrased the epistle verse by verse in the vulgar tongue. Eudes de Sully, bishop of Paris (1197–1208), in his statutes abolishing the feast of Fools and establishing the solemn observance of the feast of the Circumcision, according to the instructions of the Legate—Cardinal Peter—ordains "quod Epistola cum farsia dicetur a duobus in cappis sericeis et postmodum a subdiacono."*

The Ordinary of Soissons, cited by Dom Martene, has this rubric: "Epistolam debent cantare tres subdiaconi induti solemnibus indumentis: Entendez tuit a cest sermon." The texts of the two epistles (*cum farsura*) for the feasts of St. Stephen and the Epiphany have long been known. They also occur in a MS. from Fleury, now No. 97 in the library at Orleans, but the text of this MS. differs in some respects from the Limoges troper.

The references to English service books have been given on account of these being the most accessible to English readers.

* "Gallia Christiana," vol. vii. p. 79; "Migne Pat.," t. cxii. p. 70.

Of course the tropes found therein are not peculiar to this country.

MS. 4 is a Breviary from the Abbey of St. Martial: end of fourteenth century, parchment, 637 folios. Initials in gold and colour. Wooden binding covered with leather.

There are numerous notes in the text, underlined in red, respecting the ringing of the bells, the ornaments of the altar, and the number of lights; and during the octave of Easter divers ceremonial details. The calendar is ornate and full of astrological and traditional lore. It begins with the verses "*Pocula januarius amat*," &c., and the enumeration of the *dies nefasti*. On February 7, Jonas was in the whale's belly; on the 17th Satan departed from our Lord; on the 18th Adam sinned. March 18, Abram offered up the ram in sacrifice. April 17, the angel strove with Jacob. June 17, Job was afflicted. From July 14 to September 5, no one should be bled. July 18, Daniel was cast into the den of lions. October 18, Pharaoh's army was drowned in the Red Sea.

Festum clementis hyemps caput est orientis:

Sedit hyemps retro cathedrato symone petro.

Ver fugat Urbanus estatem Simphorianus.

Autumpni mores brumales dant tibi rores.

MS. 5.—A fragment of the Missale of Limoges. Fifteenth century: parchment, 80 fo.

No. 1145.—A copy of the first printed Missale, dated 1483. Fo. parchment. Illuminated capitals. Before the Canon are two full-page illuminations. 1. "The Crucifixion, with SS. Mary and John," inscription above:

Spinis affigor. affligor. victima libor.

Felle cibor. clavis figor. penis crucifigor.

Round a medallion containing a shield—Azure a cross florée or, is written: ✠ *Filius oblatus fit stratus funere tristi.*

2. The Almighty seated on a throne within a lozenge, holding an orb and with hand raised in blessing. In the angles outside the lozenge are the emblems of the Evangelists.

Above is the inscription:

Filii pendentis cum flentibus inspice letum,

Matris clementis cum flentibus incipe fletum.

Round a medallion similar to the one described, is written,

✠ *Filius illatus fit gratus munere cristi.*

After the calendar and the heading "Dnica prima adventus," comes the title :

Ad usum lemovicensis ecclesie. Missale parisius nitidissime impressum. manu et opera peritissimi viri magistri iohannis de prato. Venetica forma post intentam et veram correctionem impletum. Anno dni millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo tercio. In apsātū sedētē dnō sexto papa quarto. Regnante vero christianissimo principe dnō Karolo octavo. francorum rege. Et in episcopali sede lemovicensi presulante domino iohanne bartonis. Ad laudem omīpotentis dei eiusqz itemerate virginis gloriose. Et beati prothomartiris stephani eiusdem ecclesie patroni dignissimi felicter Incipit.

"Gloria in excelsis" is not said in the church of Limoges on Sundays and feasts of simple or double rite during Advent.

Lauds of Christmas are sung before the post-communion of the midnight mass. After matins of the Epiphany is the gospel from St. Luke, iii. (Factum est—jordane). Feriæ iv. and vi. of Advent and after Epiphany have proper epistles and gospels. There are proper proses for the Sundays of Advent, three for Christmas Day, and for Epiphany and its octave. From Septuagesima to Quinquagesima—Feriæ iv., v., vi. and the Saturdays have proper epistles and gospels.

The ceremonies for Ash Wednesday, and the exclusion of the penitents, are recorded in Martene (De Antiq. Rit. iv. 17, p. 54).

Dnica in ramis palmarum.—Immediately after prime, "infra janua tunc succinte," by the hebdomodarius of the past week, is said the mass of Palm Sunday with the gospel, "Cum appropinquasset Jesus."

This is followed by the *Benedictio florum*—the bishop (vel ebd.) in a red cope, standing at the right hand corner of the altar, after "Dominus vobiscum," saying three collects—"Deus cujus filius pro salute," "Deus qui filium tuum," and "Deus qui dispersa congregas," ending in the preface, "Te domine

inter cetera mirabilium tuorum precepta laudare et benedicere. Qui Lameth semen justum dedisti noe," &c. The succentor begins the antiphon "Pueri," and after the prayer "Omnipotens—Christum die azimorum super pullum," &c., the bishop puts on his chasuble and begins the high mass.

Feria quinta in cena.—The communion being said—"reponitur corpus Christi in quodam armario." Vespers are said before the post-communion. "Ite missa est" is sung if the bishop celebrate—but if another, "Benedicamus Dno."

Feria sexta in parasceve.—About the ninth hour a subdeacon (in albis), not a canon, begins the lesson—Osee, vi. After the Passion the celebrant in a red cope begins the prayers,* which being ended, the covered cross is held by two canons before the altar of the Holy Trinity, and is continually incensed by two vicars in albs during the Adoration. It is not unveiled until after the R. "Vinea mea electa." On being replaced the antiphon "Super omnia ligna" is sung

Two canons in red copes bring the Host to the altar, singing—submissa voce—as yesterday the antiphon "Hoc corpus." "Libera nos" is said "sub silentio." Vespers are said by both choirs standing about the altar; the prayer, "Refecti vitalibus alimentis—qui vivis, &c.," followed by Psalm li., being said silently.

Sabbato sancto pasche.—1. Benedictio cerei. The incense is blessed during the "Exultet." 2. The dean (in albis) standing, then begins—"In principio," &c. There are four lessons, three tracts, and three collects.

3. Then is said the sevenfold Litany by five canons and two choirs, the "cantor" in the midst beginning "Christe audi nos," which is repeated by each in turn. At its conclusion two of the canons retire, and the "letaniam quinquariam" is said in like order by those remaining, who, as soon as St. John is invoked, proceed to the blessing of the font in the chapel of St. John, preceded by the cross and paschal candle and boys carrying tapers. The Saints invoked in the first litany are SS. Mary, John Baptist, Peter, Paul, Andrew, Stephen (twice), Silvester, and Felicitas: and in the second SS. Mary, James, John, Thomas, Philip, Bartholomew, Clement, Cornelius, Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, Perpetua, Agnes, Anastatia, and All Saints. The priest who blesses the font wears white vestments and a white silk cope. At the end of the preface he forms a cross on the water with drops from the paschal candle. The chrism is not to be mingled with the water until "post prandium" unless an infant be present to be baptized. After the benediction of the font all the bells, great and small, are rung; and two canons begin in the baptistery the threefold litany, which is sung while returning to the choir. SS. Mary, Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, Matthew,

* At Limoges at the "Flectamus genua," said by the deacon, the priest says silently, "Flecto genua mea ad Patrem Domini mei Jesu Christi, ex quo omnis paternitas, &c." ("Explication des Cérémonies de l'Eglise," par Dom Claude de Vert. Paris. MDCCXX. Third edition, vol. ii. p. 226).

Thaddeus, Matthias, Luke, Laurence, Vincent, Maurice, Martin, Benedict, Lucy, Anastatia, James, Simon, Mark, Sixtus, Denis, Sebastian, Gregory, Agatha, Agnes, and Cecily are invoked in this order. It is curious that St. Martial is omitted in these litanies.

In choir a vicar in white cope, "tenens chorum," begins "the introit of the mass," saying three times, "Accendite," then Kyrie eleison.

Though there is no introit, the instruction to "light up" is here called in this missal-Officium.

4. After the communion and the washing of the celebrant's hands, the succentor—in albis—(the boys and other ministers, standing before the altar and facing the choir), begins with a loud voice the following antiphon:

"Jesum quem queris mulier non est hic sed surrexit," which his assistants take up and sing "sine neuma." All in choir respond together with a threefold "Alleluia." Then the succentor continues—"Recordare qualiter locutus sit nobis," and the chorus—"Dum adhuc in Galilea esset. Alleluia." Succentor—"Laudate Dominum omnes gentes," &c. Chorus—"Quoniam confirmata est," &c. Succentor—"Gloria patri," &c. Chorus—"Sicut erat," &c. Succentor—"Recordare." Those at the altar and those in choir repeating the whole as before.

Then the celebrant begins the antiphon, "Vespere," &c.

The above is a relic of the liturgical dramas so intimately connected with the ceremonies of the divine office of which they were the development or complement. It is interesting to find this Easter interlude played at so late a date. More complete dramas were of frequent use in earlier times—but details of these mysteries and of the gradual development of the tropes into the plays of the modern stage are subjects too extensive to be fully treated of here.

In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis incipit ordo misse.

1. The prayers on putting on the vestments.

2. The priest, "volens accedere ad altare," says, Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus. R. Quoniam in seculum misericordia ejus.

Item—Ego reus et indignus sacerdos confiteor deo et beate marie et omnibus sanctis et vobis fratres quia ego peccator peccavi nimis . per superbiam . cogitatione . defectatione . locutione . pollutione mentis et corporis . visu . verbo . auditu . loquendo . et participando cum excommunicatis . in ordine meo . et de cunctis viciis meis malis . mea culpa . Ideo precor gloriosam virginem mariam et omnes sanctos et sanctas dei . et vos fratres . ut oretis pro me ad dominum iesum christum ut ipse per suam omnipotentem misericordiam misereatur mei.

Misereatur vestri omnipotens deus et dimittat vobis omnia peccata

vestra liberet vos ab omni malo . salvet et confirmet in omni opere bono et perducat vos iesus christus ad vitam eternam. Amen.

Item—Indulgentiam, &c. R. Amen. Et gratia sancti spiritus emundet vos a delictis omnibus. R. Amen. Adiutorium, &c. R. Qui fecit, &c. Sit nomen, &c. R. Et ab alienis, &c. Domine exaudi, &c. R. Et clamor, &c. Dominus vobiscum. R. Et cum, &c.

Oratio. Deus qui de indignis, &c.

Oratio. Aufer a nobis, &c.

He then raises himself and goes to the altar and signs himself, "cum cruce adoranda," saying, "Adoramus te christe et benedicimus tibi quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum."

The mingling of the wine and water takes place before the gospel, with the prayer, "De latere christi," &c.

Benediction of the deacon—Corroboret dominus sensum tuum et labia tua ut recte pronuncies nobis eloquia sancta sua. In nomine, &c.

The deacon replies—Conforta me rex sanctorum summum tenens principatum . et da sermonem rectum et bene sonantem in os meum . ut tibi placeam in regione viventium.

If the priest celebrate without a deacon before reading the gospel, he says, "Domine labia mea aperies et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam." The priest takes the chalice, saying, "Quid retribuam," &c. "In nomine," &c. He then takes it with both hands and raises it up slightly, saying, "Hanc igitur," &c., and making the sign of the cross with it, places it on the corporal. He then reverently takes the paten with the Host and places the latter at the foot of the chalice, a little towards the left. He then signs himself with the paten, and places it (inversam) on the right side partly under the pall. Forthwith he covers the chalice with the corporal, making the sign of the cross over it with his right hand, saying, "Veni sanctificator," &c. "In nomine," &c. After blessing the incense he takes the thurible, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, says, "Dirigatur," &c.

Then if any be present wishing to offer he turns to them, and receiving their oblations, says, "Centuplum accipiatis et vitam eternam possideatis." He then washes his hands or fingers, saying, "Lavabo," &c., and wiping them with a clean napkin, approaches the middle of the altar, where bowing down, he says humbly, "In spiritu humilitatis—qui vivis."

Then rising he kisses the altar, and making the sign of the cross over the chalice, says, "In nomine sancte trinitatis et individue unitatis descendat hic angelus bene dictionis et consecrationis et pacis super hoc munus. Amen." Then he turns to the people, saying, "Orate fratres pro me ut meum pariter et vestrum sacrificium acceptum sit Deo."

R. populi.—Sit dominus in corde tuo et in ore tuo et suscipiat sibi sacrificium placabile de ore tuo et de manibus tuis pro nostra omniumque salute.

He then returns "ad sinistram partem altaris"—saying, "Domine exaudi orationem meam et clamor meus ad te veniat": "Dominus vobiscum" *B.* "Et cum spiritu tuo"—"Et dicat secretas suas ordine quo dixit supra orationes," and when he comes to the end of the last he returns to the middle of the altar and raising his hands before him sings the preface. "Per omnia secula seculorum"—et sequitur in canone.

The preface of Lent is said daily to Maundy Thursday; of Easter, to Ascension on Sundays and feasts of nine lessons, except the Invention of the Cross; of Trinity on that feast and "in sponsalibus." There is a proper preface for the feast of the Assumption. "Et te in veneratione sacrarum virginum exultantibus animis laudare benedicere et predicare. inter quas intemerata dei genetrix virgo semper maria cuius assumptionis diem celebramus gloriosa effulsit. que et unigenitum, &c." The following preface is to be said on all feasts (and during their octaves) of Blessed Mary save that of the Purification (and its octave) when "Quia per incarnati" is to take its place. It may be said also on the feast of the Assumption—(qui voluerit). "Et te in veneratione beate marie semper virginis exultantibus animis laudare, benedicere et predicare. Que et, &c." The preface of the Cross is said on the feasts and commemorations thereof: and that of Apostles on the feasts of Evangelists also, and during the octaves of SS. Peter and Paul, and of St. Andrew. That of the Ascension during its octave only.

Canon Missae.—In the Commemoratio pro vivis—"atque omnium fidelium christianorum." Before "Communicantes"—*parum flectat genua.* Before "Unde et memores"—*Deinde extendat brachia quasi faciens dese crucem, dicens.* After "omnis honor et gloria"—*Tunc*

ostendat cum manu dextera hostiam populo. Qua posita ante pedem calicis cooperiat calicem de corporali: et expansis manibus dicat.—"Per omnia," &c.

Paternoster—*malò.* Accipiat patenam inter digitum indicem et medium et elevans dicat. Amen.

In "Libera"—*tangat de patena pedem calicis dicendo*—Petro—medium. Paulo—*super calicem*, et Andrea, *ad os suum*, cum omnibus sanctis *ad oculos et se signat de ipsa dicens*—Da propicius.

In mass for the dead, the second "Agnus Dei" ends with "dona eis indulgentiam." After the "Agnus Dei" is "Hec sacrosancta commixtio—per christum."

Postea osculato corpore christi det osculum ad pacem—"Pax tibi frater et ecclesie sancte dei."

"Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus da michi," &c.

Oratio sancti augustini ad filium—"Domine iesu christe file dei vivi," &c.

"Corpus domini nostri iesu christi custodiat me et perducatur me ad vitam eternam. Amen."

"Corpus et sanguis, &c., (*ut supra*). "Quod ore," &c.

"Agimus tibi gracias omnipotens deus universis beneficiis tuis, &c."

"Nunc dimittis, &c."

After the Communion and post-communion the benediction is given "Adjutorium," &c. R. "Qui fecit," &c. "Sit nomen," &c. "Ex hoc," &c. "Benedicat vos," &c.

Prostatum ante altare dicat—"Placeat tibi—sacrificium laudis—propitiabile in vitam eternam . per cristum," &c.

Exuat se casula et dicat—"Dominus vobiscum," &c. "In principio," &c.

"Te invocamus . te adoramus . te laudamus . O beata trinitas.

"Sit nomen, &c. Ex hoc, &c. "Protector in te sperantium," &c.

Vel dicat etiam alias orationes ad devotionem. Et in fine—

"Dominus vobiscum. Et cum, &c. Benedicamus domino. Deo gratias.

"Benedicite Dominus. A subitanea et improvisa morte et a damnatione perpetua liberet vos pater et filius et spiritus sanctus. Amen."

Sequitur submissa voce. Ant. Trium puerorum—with the thanksgiving.

Then come—

Oratio ante missam. Summe sacerdos, &c.

Alia. Omnipotens eterne Deus ecce ego, &c. Deus qui de indignis, &c.

Post celebrationem misse. Gratias ago dulcissime domine iesu, &c.

Orate pro fratre petro bartonis ordinatore huius missale. R. I. P. Amen.

During Easter week, the mass of Easter-day—Resurrexi

(except the prose Fulgens preclara)—is said “*cursorie*,” at the high altar immediately after matins—and is followed by “*absolutio defunctorum*.”

Feria Secunda.—After the mass—those going on pilgrimage approach the altar, and each one offers his light, and receives the staff and scrip for his journey from the hands of the chaplain. “*In nomine domini nostri iesu christi accipe hanc sportam*,” &c. *Et ponat sacerdos sportam peregrino in collo a parte sinistra. Deinde benedictio baculi tradat sibi cum oratione*—“*Accipe et baculum consolationis*,” &c.

Proper proses are given for each day of the octave of Easter and for the succeeding Sundays. From the third Sunday inclusive the prose is “*Victime Paschali*.”

Feriæ iv. and *vi.* of each week have proper epistles and gospels. *Feria vi.* after Ascension, and *feriæ iv.* and *vi.* of the following week have them also.

Ascension, Sunday in octave, Pentecost, and each day of its octave are provided with proper proses.

On the vigil of Pentecost, after none, the four lessons are read in choir—“*in albis—ante aquilam*,” and the rest of the office is as on Holy Saturday. *Vicarius tenens chorum cum cappa rubea incipit introitum misse*—“*Accendite*,” &c.

There are two masses on each ember-day after Pentecost, and the Wednesday after Trinity Sunday has proper epistle and gospel.

During the octavo of Corpus Christi the prose is “*Gaude Syon mater ecclesia*,” and in the weeks after Pentecost *feriæ iv.* and *vi.* have proper epistles and gospels.

Before the Proper of Saints—which begins with the feast of St. Stephen—are four notations of Gloria in Excelsis, the Credo, and “*Benedictiones incensi ante Evangelium, super predicatorum, panis*.”

Purificatio beate marie. Pulsata tertia sacerdos ebdomadarius stans ad dexterum cornu altaris indutus cappa crocea incipit absolute—“*Dominus vobiscum*”—followed by the first four prayers of the Roman rite—the third ending in a preface—“*Nos tibi deo omp. rerum omnium creator*.” The antiphon “*Lumen*,” is followed by the prayer, “*O. s. d. qui unigentum tuum ante tempora*.”

Among the *Misse Votive* are a collect, secret, and post-communion “*pro incendio loci*.” Fires were of frequent

occurrence in the wooden houses and narrow streets of old Limoges.

The *ordo sponsalium*, resembles the Auch rite described in THE DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1895.

At the end of this missal is a farsed Kyrie :

Pater summe qui om̃ium bonorum es initium eleyson.
 Fons origo lux luminum . sine fine principium „
 Audi vota canantium . ne sentiant supplicium „
 Sacra nate de virgine . sacro ditante flamine „
 Lumen verum de lumine . rex sabbaoth et nomine „
 Quos redemisti sanguine tuo fac frui numine „
 Amor amborum spiritus . dextre dei tu digitus „
 In his non sonat crepitus . munda reple cor celitus „
 Vere renes corda reple . nos gubernas ut in sede gloriemur
 sempiternæ eleyson.

The Missale Lemovicense, edited by Bishop Prosper de Tournefort and published in 1830, preserved many of the local usages, proses, &c., of the older liturgy.

In the Grand Seminary of Limoges are :

1. A collection of 66 kalendars of various dates, bound together in two volumes.

They have been extracted from Missals, Graduals, Books of Hours, &c., and date from about the year 1100 to 1784.

2. MSS. 71-73. Kalendars of thirteenth century from the Abbey of Grandmont.

MSS. 74-75. Kalendars of fifteenth century from the Abbey of Grandmont.

3. 77-78. Two breviaries "ad usum ecclesie monasterii Grandimontis," sixteenth century.

4. "Processionalis ordinatus secundum usum et consuetudinem ecclesie Sancti Michaelis Lemovicis—parchment, dated —M^oCCCC^o quinquagesimo secundo." Musical notation of square notes on four lines. In table of contents against the feast of Christmas is written "Tripudium." In the Litany, St. Martial is placed among the disciples between Barnabas and Cleophas, and many local saints are named.

5. Statutes of the diocese of Limoges—parchment, 60 folios, 1492 to 1499. After 1506 the statutes published by the various bishops were printed. The first 13 folios belonged to a Book of Hours. On folio 10 is a prose in honour of the Blessed Virgin

—the first word of each strophe being taken in order from the angelic salutation, as far as “nobis”—

Ave, mater pietatis
Et tocius bonitatis
Fons misericordiae
Maria, que stella maris
Solem verum ex te paris
Christum regem glorie, &c.

6. A vernacular book of prayers (in the Limousin dialect) belonging to the parish of St. Peter du Queyroix (de Quadrivio = Four ways). This MS., begun in fourteenth century, has been annotated from time to time until the seventeenth century. Parchment, 25 folios. It contains various prayers said on Sundays, with commemorations of benefactors, &c. The almanack begins in 1376. The title is “Aquey libre ey de Eyglieyga de S. Peyr deu queyroy de Limoges, loqual gardent los vicaris de lad. eyglieyga.” Its contents are of philological interest.

The late Abbé Nadaud left some valuable notes on the Breviaries of the diocese. According to his list,* there was a breviary of the twelfth century preserved in the cathedral; another of the year 1492, from St. Martial—“au Collège;” another of fourteenth century at the seminary; two of early fourteenth century at Beaulieu (Dordogne); another of the year 1460, at St. Junien; an edition was printed in 1500 at Paris by Jean Dupré, followed by another edition printed by his heirs in 1504. Succeeding editions were from the presses at Limoges and Lyon. From the impression of 1500, the Abbé quotes as a curiosity the antiphon for the feast of St. Felicitas—23 November:

Felix fuit felicitas fidei face fervida facta . factis felicibus feliciter
felicior falsas fregit fallacias . fotu fovit famelicos . fortia fortis fortiter
ferens . faustorum funere felices filios . fidei fortes federe . ferventes
ferventissime furiosorum furias.

He states that on Christmas Day at the cathedral “tous allaient à vêpres au chapitre,” where they were regaled with three kinds of wine at the cost of the bishop; and that on

* Extracts were published in “Le Limousin Historique,” by A. Leymarie, 1838.

the same day at St. Martial, after the sixth response at matins, were sung the verses of the Sibyl, as they are recorded in Eusebius.

To this list may be added a breviary "*secundum usum Lemovicensis diocesis*" (vellum, fourteenth century) now preserved in the library at Tours. It contains among its nine great antiphons of Advent, *O virgo*, and *O Gabriel*. The Easter antiphons end "*cum neuma.*"

An Ordinary from the Cistercian Abbey of Obasine in the diocese of Limoges, has found a home in the British Museum (Add. MS. 18,900). It is a small quarto volume of the fourteenth century, written on vellum. Title: "*Incipit ordinarius chori tam de missis quam de aliis officiis nocturnis ac divinis secundum ordinem Cisterciensem.*"

In the calendar, on March 8, is the obit of the lord Stephen first abbot of Obasine, and on the same day that of Gerald, his successor. On September 12—"Hic dicitur missa de spiritu sancto in conventu . et incipit capitulum generale Cisterciēn." On October 19—"Dedicatio Sce Marie Obasinen." In a cursive handwriting is recorded on June 12, "Obit Franciscus de Novavilla qui fuit Abbas Obazine et dessest anno 1563."*

Of the "exceedingly beautiful" Missale of Limoges (fifteenth century), preserved in the library of Lambeth Palace, space forbids me to give any detailed description in this article.

Martene may be consulted for various rites according to the use of Limoges. *De Rit. Antiq.* I. i. 18 p. 76, gives the Rite of Baptism; I. ix. xi. p. 136, the Rite of Marriage; II. xi. p. 238, the service for the Coronation of the Dukes of Aquitaine; and III. i. iii. iv. p. 311, "*Ad celebrandum Concilium*" (the references are to the Venice edition of 1788).

R. TWIGGE, F.S.A.

* The dates of these "obits" differ from those recorded in "*Gallia Christiana*," t. ii. c. 636.

ART. V.—THEORIES OF THE BEAUTIFUL AND THE SUBLIME.

1. *Du Vrai, Du Beau, et Du Bien.* Par VICTOR COUSIN. 19^e edition. Paris. 1860.
2. *The Principles of Art.* As illustrated by examples in the Ruskin Museum at Sheffield: with passages, by permission, from the writings of John Ruskin. By WILLIAM WHITE. London: George Allen. 1895.

ACCORDING to the dictum of Kant, the three problems of philosophy are those of God, the soul, and the universe. These topics are evidently of supreme importance; and philosophical speculations undertaken for the love of truth, must ever be elevating and ennobling. There are conditions requisite for speculating to advantage, among which are freedom, within proper limits, and activity of mind. In conditions wherein freedom of research or of discussion is unduly limited; or, wherein there are no burning questions to discuss—nothing to rouse the minds of men from rust and sloth—it is evident that philosophy will languish. A spirit of negation, pessimism, and scepticism is also fatal to philosophy—at least at the hands of such as are unfortunate enough to come under its influence. A favourite maxim of Sir William Hamilton was that saying of an ancient philosopher: “On earth there is nothing great but man; and in man there is nothing great but mind.” Most true, indeed, if kept before the mental view by the side of that other old maxim: *γνῶθι σεαυτόν*: *nosce teipsum*—with the consciousness, that is, of man’s intellectual limitations, moral weaknesses and backslidings.

It is evident that in reflecting on the issues raised by a discussion on the Beautiful and the Sublime, we are addressing ourselves to some of the most difficult problems of philosophy, as also some of the most interesting. Burning questions they are, too, as we think how many false systems are in vogue, and how many fundamental principles of Psychology, Cosmology, Ethics, and Natural Theology are now denied. To any one who

has learnt, years ago perhaps, the true theory of the Beautiful and the Sublime in Nature and Art, the false teachings, so common, of Sensationists, Agnostics, and Sceptics must produce a species of mental shock, painful enough. Such at least has been the present writer's experience.

Plato is usually considered the first founder and father of *Æsthetics*, as the science of Beauty has come to be somewhat incorrectly called. To meet with Plato's doctrine in the pages of some modern authors, but travestied in the transference, is another painful experience. Instead of Plato's supreme Ideals of Beauty and Goodness, we find such unmeaning terms as the Self-Beautiful, the Self-Good! The school which holds with J. S. Mill that substance is but "a permanent possibility of sensation," and that, of course, we can only "know phenomena," can never be of mental calibre sufficient to comprehend the full significance of the real Plato, the broad-browed thinker, who was at the same time Artist and Poet, as well as supreme Philosopher. Even the famous dictum of Ockham—*Entia non sunt multiplicanda præter necessitatem*—seems, as we know more and more of the real Plato, to have far less force than once supposed, at least, as applicable to Plato's teaching. Cousin shows conclusively, it would seem, that the great Philosopher has been misunderstood and misinterpreted. The celebrated Ideas did not really, in Plato's mind, stand for *separate objects* apart from the Supreme Intelligence; but were the Ideas, subjectively considered, of that Intelligence; and the Archetypes of the genera, species and attributes of the visible creation. The True, the Beautiful, and the Good are, first of all, the Attributes of the Supreme Being, necessary, independent, the First Cause and Creator of all other beings—themselves on Him depending. The Infinite, Eternal Deity was then the ultimate Personal Being, Substance and Subject of those attributes and modes which Plato named Ideas. That Plato intended the several Ideas to be separate beings seems not to have been the case. It is evident that the earlier Fathers of the Church, living so much nearer Plato's time than the Schoolmen, and who read his works, as the latter did not, in the original Greek, considered his doctrines, of all those of ancient philosophy, as most suitable for harmonising with the Christian faith, and for thus constructing a Philosophy of

Religion against unbelievers. This is especially true of St. Augustine, as we shall see later.

M. Cousin, as a modern interpreter of Plato, stands alone, said Sir William Hamilton. Mr. J. Cato Daniel, writing in 1848, pointed out that up till then no English writer had held a theory allowing Beauty to be *universal* and *absolute*. The conclusions of Hume, Alison and Burke may be summed up in the words of Hume :

Beauty is no quality in things themselves; it merely exists in the mind which contemplates them; and each mind perceives a different Beauty: one mind perceives deformity where another is sensible of Beauty, and every individual ought to acquiesce in his own sentiment without pretending to regulate those of others.*

Here we have the Sensationist theory neatly stated. One chief business of this paper will be to refute it.

Again, in Cousin's first chapter on the Beautiful we come across the question of the Origin of Knowledge. The scholastic maxim again recurs to mind: *Nihil est in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu*, and we may even add to it *nisi intellectus ipse*. Even with this last important modification, it seems to me that the maxim is not proof against Cousin's argument. Take, he says, the Ideal perfect triangle. Where do we get that ideal from, if not from the mind itself? In the process of abstraction, *ex. gr.* of various imperfect natural triangles, we never obtain, nor could obtain, the Ideal geometrical triangle. The Ideal perfect form is thus evidently furnished by the mind. Thus we come very near to the theory of *innate ideas*, whether we choose to call them rather Laws of Thought, Necessary Truths, or Native Principles of the mind. Plato often calls Ideas "Laws" in the material universe. Plato's Ideas are thus conceptions absolute, and independent of experience, and taken together are the λόγος, or reason.†

Plato's Ideas were the object of the faculty of Cognition or Knowledge (Reason), whereas sensible phenomena were the object of the faculty of opinion (apparently equivalent to the "understanding" of Hamilton and other modern thinkers).

* Hume, "Essays," vol. i. Quoted by Mr. Jesse Cato Daniel, Introduction to Cousin's "Philosophy of the Beautiful," 1848.

† Cousin quotes in proof "Phædo," 73, A., and "Republic," 500.

We may seek the Platonic idea of Goodness, says Professor Jowett, by the aid of three other ideas—Beauty, Symmetry, Truth. These three were inseparable to the Greek mind; and no concept of *perfection* could be formed in which they did not unite.*

It was to Plato that we owe the triple division of the mental faculties, though some of his terms for them sound a little strange to modern ears; *soul*, *spirit*, and *appetite*, or intellect, irascibility and sensibility, nearly represent his classification. Courage, manliness, and exercise of will in general belong to the second. Hence the modern best division: Intellect, Will and Feelings is clearly derivable from that of Plato. Knowledge in his sense represents the Laws of Thought, or “intuition” of modern writers, *ex. gr.* of M'Cosh; while opinion belongs to sensible phenomena; impressions of the Senses—*i.e.*, what Hume, J. S. Mill, with Condorcet, Condillac, many moderns, and I think, I may say, Professor Bain, have thought to be the sum total of human knowledge!†

I leave Mr. Ruskin's Art teaching for the present to come to the chief points in dispute on the consideration of various Theories of *Æsthetics*. To begin with it may be asked:—Is there a correct Standard of Beauty? such that to it we may refer a given object, and decide finally whether that object is Beautiful or not? Is there in the idea of the Beautiful any concept, *absolute*, *necessary*, *universal*? Or merely contingent, relative, and individual; so that, as Hume declared, a thing

* Index, “The Republic of Plato,” translated by B. Jowett, M.A., Master of Balliol College, 1888. It is strange, as a sign of the times, to find Professor Jowett, in his notice of the “Utopia,” one of many works modelled on Plato's “Republic,” publishing his private opinion that Sir Thomas More, now declared Blessed by the Church, did not fully believe in the Christian religion. Rather good as to one who died a Martyr in defence of it!

† In fiction we may find some examples afforded by talented authors of the terrible results of false systems. Father Bresciano, in his admirable “Lionello,” refers the ruin of his leading character almost entirely to the effects of the Sensationism of Condillac, which Lionello is portrayed as devouring eagerly. In a more recent work by Mr. Marion Crawford (“To Leeward”), we see the heroine disturbed and unsettled in mind by the principle of Fichte: *That being and nothing are the same*, which to the ordinary reader may mean that *there is nothing which really exists*. We do not wonder to find that Leonora comes to a bad and unprovided end. What are men like Carlyle and his distinguished follower, Mr. John Ruskin, but other examples of the same law as far as the absence of fixed principles is concerned? These once eminent moralists and eloquent men of genius, we behold sadly wandering without a trusted guide, amid a maze of intricate theories and losing themselves therein.

may be indeed Beautiful to one person and deformed to another? It will be here maintained that there is a correct Standard of Beauty, though there may be difficulties in applying it to every case. Cicero laid down that the type of Beauty is in the depths of the soul, which, rightly understood, seems to be the truth. The *Æsthetic Judgment* is known as Taste. The standard of reason and taste is the same in all human creatures—was the opinion of Edmund Burke; though he added that the resulting concrete judgments are evidently various, *ex. gr.* as to a given natural object, or a work of Art. How is this? The *Æsthetic Judgment*, like every other human Faculty, requires proper cultivation, otherwise it will not attain the best results. There are other influences, too, which tend to bias the verdicts of taste, such as the School of thought to which the individual belongs, prejudices for or against, and even the fashion of the day.

The Beautiful is a subject which has attracted the attention of many great thinkers from Plato to the present day. Meditation upon it calls into play Reason and Understanding, and leads us to the inmost depths of the soul, the most secret springs of human action. The Sentiment, or emotion of the Beautiful, must be distinguished from the merely pleasing or agreeable. The Sentiments of the Beautiful and the Sublime are those of a being endowed with Intellect and Will, not of a mere animal. The lower animals have their share of agreeable sensations and emotions, but it has never been shown that they apprehend the Beautiful as such. M. Cousin, indeed, holds that so far from Beauty being proportioned to the amount of agreeable feelings—the two are often in some degree opposed to each other. The Beautiful and the Sublime, then, are rightly classed among the highest emotions of which the soul is capable.

There is harmony—at times easy to perceive, at times more difficult to find—pervading all the works of God; and the perception of it by the soul of man arouses the emotion of the Beautiful. Here then are the three terms of the Emotion, or factors, to be taken into account. First, the outward object disposed in a certain manner. The second is the soul, created to the image of God, and so created as to receive pleasure from some objects and pain from others. The third is the

Mind of God, our Creator, the First Cause of the visible universe, and the source of, and Supreme Beauty. Hence it is that we find our way in the study of *Æsthetics* to the three-fold problem of Kant, as mentioned above. There is also clear analogy between these three terms of the Beautiful, and the threefold division of the subject: Physical, Intellectual, and Moral Beauty.

Physical or *sensuous* Beauty follows on the easy, agreeable exercise of the noblest senses, as for example in the *intellectually* agreeable feelings excited by special forms, colours, or sounds. It may be subdivided into *material* and *vital*, according to the object. *Vital* is evidently connected with the life and functions of living beings, the course and right fulfilment of which have been designed by our Creator to give us pleasure.

Intellectual Beauty is that which is specially harmonious and consistent, fitted to an end, typical of an idea, or of the intellect itself; as a circle, an equilateral triangle, the proportions of a building, or the expression of a picture or of a statue.

Moral Beauty exists where the moral faculties are stimulated, as in a noble or generous action, and in the highest types of *Ideal* Beauty, for example, in the works of Mediæval artists generally, especially, I may name the Bellinis, Fra Angelico, Perugino, and the earlier Raffaele.

Writers who, like M. E. Cartier, in his *Vie de Fra Angelico*, divide the Sentiment into *natural* and *moral*, include under the former both *physical* and *intellectual* Beauty. The Association Theory of Beauty held by Alison and Jeffrey need hardly here be seriously considered, as the theory of Hume may be held to include it. Dugald Stewart held against Alison a primitive organic pleasure of *colour*. But he strongly repudiated any idea or essence of Beauty, any one fact lying at the basis of all Beautiful things. However, in his theory of the Sublime, Stewart approaches more nearly to a sound and true opinion, and he admits "the silent and pleasing awe experienced in a Gothic cathedral."

Beauty, Sublimity, and the Ludicrous are, according to Professor Bain, the *Æsthetic* Emotions. Whether such an honourable place will ever be generally assigned to the Ludicrous may

well be doubted. The question is whether the effect of the Ludicrous is an effect worthy of the genius of a truly great Artist. Certainly not—it seems to me. The highest kinds of wit and humour may be held to be truly Artistic, while the *merely* Ludicrous ought rather to be considered under the head of Emotions of Power, and hence not to belong to *Æsthetics* at all. Likewise what some men call *sensual* Beauty cannot be admitted, but ought certainly to be excluded from the aim of any true Artist, as Cousin, Ruskin, and M. Cartier clearly lay down.

Burke, in his “Philosophical Inquiry,”* treated the subject of the Beautiful and the Sublime at some length. The Essay is, indeed, more remarkable for eloquent style than for correct theory.

He says: “The passion caused by the great Sublime in Nature when those causes operate most powerfully is astonishment.

“By Beauty I mean that quality, or those qualities, in bodies by which they cause love, or some passion similar to it.”

Beautiful objects, he continues, are small, smooth, gradually varied, delicate, and of mild and diversified colours (p. 640). Price and Dugald Stewart criticised Burke’s general principles as only strictly applicable to female Beauty. Even in treating of Nature he seemed to be chiefly struck by her softest and most feminine features.

Hogarth, in his “Analysis of Beauty,” enumerates six elements, entering variously into beautiful compositions:—

(1) *Fitness*, with proportion; (2) *Variety*; (3) *Uniformity*, or symmetry (in some cases); (4) *Simplicity*; (5) *Intricacy*; and (6) *Magnitude*. Hogarth’s *Line of Grace* is the line drawn once round, from the base to the apex of a slender cone, seen in perspective; and he thought this the most beautiful of all possible lines. As a fact, *serpentine* lines are not infrequently found in plough-lands and canals. It would be interesting to know if any of these were based on Hogarth’s *Line of Grace*.

Kant, in his “Critique of Judgment,” treated fully the subject now under discussion. There is much that is valuable

* Works, vol. ii. p. 565 *et seq.*

underlying his principles, though the style is the abstruse Kantian idiom, "The Judgment of taste is purely subjective, not logical, but *Æsthetic*; neither 'the agreeable,' 'the good,' or interested motives enter into it; it rests on *a priori* principles." "The pure judgment of taste is independent of all attraction and emotion; and of the concept of perfection." "The subjective necessity which we attribute to a judgment of taste is *conditional*, the condition being a dictate of *common sense*" (as taught by Reid) or more exactly, by an *intuition* (McCosh and others). "The judgment of taste, when pure, attaches satisfaction to the simple consideration of the object without regard to any use or end."*

In the eyes of Kant, the judgment of taste (*Æsthetic*) is purely contemplative, thus recalling the eloquent teaching of Aristotle on the excellence of contemplation; and, in modern times, Mr. Ruskin's special Faculty of Theoria (*Θεωρία*, contemplation), and his proposal to substitute *Theoretic* for *Æsthetic*.

Kant rightly places beauty rather in the *form* than the *colour* of objects, and teaches that in the Fine Arts the true essential is the design. Ornaments and accessories should not be made the chief sources of pleasure; as, *ex. gr.*, a picture frame should not attract attention away from the picture itself. In contrasting the Sublime and the Beautiful, Kant lays down that: the Sublime produces emotion, the Beautiful calm contemplation. We call Sublime that which is absolutely great; it is that, in comparison with which everything is small. Hamilton accepts and develops Kant's teaching:

The result then is that a thing Beautiful is one whose form occupies the Imagination and the Understanding in a free and full and, consequently, in an agreeable activity.

The Beautiful awakens the mind to a soothing contemplation; the Sublime rouses it to strong emotion. The Beautiful attracts without repelling; whereas the Sublime at once does both; the Beautiful affords us a feeling of unmingled pleasure, in the full and unimpeded activity of our cognitive powers; whereas as our feeling of Sublimity is a mingled

* French edition, "Jugement *Æsthetique*."

one of pleasure and pain, of pleasure in the consciousness of the strong energy, of pain in the consciousness that this energy is vain.*

M. Cousin further develops the contrast. In the Beautiful there is harmony between the Senses, the Imagination, and the Intellect ; but in the Sublime, while there is pain arising from the impotence of the lower Faculties to lay hold of and fully imagine the object, there is also a specially noble pleasure in the effort of the Intellect to grasp the unity of an object so great.

The Sublime is so closely related to the Beautiful that the names are often used, as if synonymous. It is more convenient, however, to distinguish them. What is Sublime is indeed Beautiful ; but not the converse. What is Beautiful is not *necessarily* Sublime. The Sublime excludes the ugly, degraded, and debased. The emotion of the Sublime is rarer than that of the Beautiful. It is generally agreed to consist in an elevation of the soul above the ordinary state ; and that it is serious, awful, solemn, more or less severe, but, at the same time, delightful. The qualities of objects calculated to arouse the Sublime are extent, height, depth, power, greatness ; and there may be, to some degree, obscurity and danger.

To make my meaning clearer I put down a few examples of the Sublime in Nature. The starlit sky, with the thought of the innumerable heavenly bodies, their enormous distances from us and from each other, their variety—all in harmonious motion in infinite space ; the ocean ; a mountain-chain, both the distant view of the mountain masses, and the unlimited prospect from the summit ; sunrise, especially, the earliest dawn ; sunset effects, as so eloquently described by Mr. Ruskin under the head of “infinity.” †

Dr. M'Cosh, in his “Intuitions of the Mind,” treats the subject of Beauty in fitting and eloquent language. Against the Association and Sensation theories, he lays down : (1) There are no innate ideas, images, or mental representations [*i.e.*, phantasmata] ; but (2) these are intuitive native principles, and these principles, or convictions, arise on the contemplation of

* “Metaphysics,” vol. ii. pp. 512, 513.

† It may be well to explain that space is not a being or substance, but a possibility of physical existence, as, if I mistake not, defined by St. Thomas.

objects. In a full discussion on the Beautiful,* he is inclined to regard the appreciation of Beauty as *native to the mind*; but *not* as a *necessary* principle. We may look at an object and delight in it as lovely, yet "we are not constrained to believe that it must be beautiful, independently of our feeling, and that it must appear beautiful to all beings." Further on, he gradually approaches to the true theory, which he shows to be supported by scientific facts of no mean value. The opinion of Plato is cited: "That beauty of forms consists in proportion, or harmony, which may admit of mathematical expression," and later scientific research is altogether in its favour. The mind delights in the unities of Nature. There is then a harmony in all the forms, forces, motions of Nature. The definite forms of objects are often regulated by mathematical laws. "There may very probably be principles *necessary, eternal*, and altogether *independent* of the individual mind" at the basis of beauty. The conviction of the connection of the eternally True and the morally Good with the different aspects of the Beautiful is that to which the learned Doctor comes.

It seems at once appropriate and necessary, in a discussion of theories of the Beautiful, that the teaching of our greatest living Art Critic, Mr. John Ruskin, should be taken into account. If the book of Mr. White were taken as the foundation of our knowledge of that teaching, it would be indeed inadequate. It is true we may find something that is valuable, much that is interesting in itself, though foreign to the present purpose; but as regards the main object of finding in it a synthesis of Mr. Ruskin's Principles of Art, I must confess to a sentiment of heartfelt disappointment. In his preface, Mr. White quotes the noble maxim of the great Art Critic as to Museums: "The right function of every Museum is the manifestation of what is lovely in the life of Nature, and heroic in the life of men."† Hence it seems possible that to those readers who know the Sheffield Museum, Mr. White's book may be more appreciated than by the general public.

It is rather to Mr. Edward J. Cook,‡ who followed Mr. Ruskin's Lectures at Oxford, during two or more Sessions, that we must

* P. 249, or, in the edition of 1860, pp. 288-290.

† From "On the Old Road," vol. i. p. 630.

‡ "Studies in Ruskin." G. Allen. 1890.

look for a critical summary of "the Gospel according to Ruskin." Portions of these "Studies" first appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, with which journal Mr. Cook, it appears, was formerly connected. There was danger, thought Mr. Cook, that the accidental and temporary might overlay the essential and permanent in Mr. Ruskin's teaching. According to the latter's own statement, he has three different ways of writing. (1) To make himself understood; (2) in which he says what ought to be said; and (3) in which he says whatever comes into his head, merely for his own pleasure. Mr. Cook's aim is to set forth what is essential in the doctrine of his prophet. George Eliot admired the truth, sincerity, and nobleness of Ruskin. "All great art is praise." The perfection of Greek Art was the expression of their delight in God's noblest work—"The disciplined beauty of the human body." The perfection of early Italian Art was its delight in "Saints a-praising God." In the principle and aim of "Modern Painters" there is no variation from first to last. It declares the perfection and eternal Beauty of the works of God, and tests all work of man by concurrence with, or subjection to that.* Ruskin, says Mr. Cook, is a Puritan and a Painter; a Puritan by training, a Catholic by taste; to Sensational Æsthetes a deadly enemy; Religion and morality are what he chiefly contends for—"the brightness of early Faith in the pictures of Florence"; decadence he points out in the later "Stones of Venice."† "To do good work whether we live or die" is the first article of the Ruskinian faith. To carry into practice his own "gospel," he has given nearly the whole of a large fortune in public and private charities (p. 35). The sanction of the Ruskin gospel is the "crown of wild olives"; in reality, a natural, peaceful happiness in this life, and *perhaps* more in that to come (p. 37).

I regret that it is impossible, within the limits of this article, to do full justice to Mr. Ruskin's art-gospel. Possibly there may be space for an eloquent passage. [This is now impossible. But the reader may be referred to the works named further on.] In fine, there is little doubt but that Mr. Ruskin's fame will rest on his earlier and mightier labours, "Modern Painters," "The Stones of Venice," and, I may add, "The Seven Lamps of Architecture," rather than on his later Lectures. As a social Reformer, his work is outside the subject now discussed.

* "Studies," p. 6.

† *Idem.* p. 10 *et seq.*

M. E. Cartier* is an author who has laid down the true doctrine of the *necessary, universal, and absolute* character of the Idea of the Beautiful in pleasing and eloquent language. The doctrine is, indeed, that of Cousin, but the development and expression of it are alike remarkable. A short summary is all that can be given, but the reader may consult the original with advantage.

Art is the manifestation of Beauty. What, then, is Beauty? What is the power which ravishes the soul and forces it to utter a cry of admiration?

Le Beau Intellectuel est le rayonnement de l'Intelligence Divine; le Beau Physique en est l'image; il ne peut exister que par lui, comme l'effet par sa cause. . . . Le Beau Moral découle de la volonté Divine, et règle les rapports des êtres entre eux, et les relations du fini avec l'Infini. L'union du Beau Naturel et du Beau Moral constitue le Beau parfait, qui satisfait complètement l'âme, car il lui offre le Vrai dans son principe et le Beau dans sa fin. Le Beau est un miroir qui reflète le Vrai et le Bien dans l'Intelligence et la volonté.

St. Thomas is quoted as follows:

Pulchrum habet rationem causæ formalis, bonum autem rationem causæ finalis. I. Q. 5, A 4.

Pulchrum est cujus apprehensio placet. *Idem.*

Ad pulchritudinem tria requiruntur. 1o. Quædam integritas sive perfectio; quæ enim diminuta sunt, hoc ipso turpia sunt. 2o. Et debita proportio, sive consonantia. 3o. Et iterum claritas. Unde quæ habent colorem nitidum pulchra esse dicuntur. *Idem.* Q. 39.†

Readers of this article may wish to know, after so extensive citations of various Theories, exactly what is the position of the writer. The Fathers of the Church, in regard to Philosophy, like many eminent Catholic Divines of the last four centuries, may well be described as Eclectics rather than followers of any one system. Cousin—whatever his more sceptical pupils, such as Jules Simon, may urge in disparagement against him as an original and truly philosophic thinker—was, in my mind at least, truly great and original. He was an Eclectic; and the very fact that Simon urges against him—his endeavour to harmonise his teaching with Catholic doctrine,

* "La Vie de Fra Angelico." Paris. 1857.

† For a full, clear, and excellent development of St. Thomas's principles, vide "Philosophia Elementaria," Vol. II., by Padre Ceferino Gonzalez, O.P.

especially in his later editions—seems to prove the more completely his real capacity and intellectual grasp. One proof of his capacity is the ability with which Cousin is able to divide the chief thinkers of the world into the followers (1) of Plato, and (2) of Aristotle. This is done by seizing the leading notes in which there is either agreement, or on which leaders of Schools, like St. Augustine, St. Thomas, Descartes, Locke, Kant, Hume, have based their diverging systems. To a limited degree, the Scholastics themselves were Eclectics, in that, basing their Philosophy upon Aristotle, it was upon Aristotle, as interpreted by the Arabians from the School of Alexandria, that is, with a neo-Platonic tendency. Moreover, in the true sense of *Eclectic*, they chose out of Aristotle only what was reconcilable with Christian doctrine. As an example: they rejected Aristotle's dictum of an imperishable and eternal material world. Provided his Eclecticism be only reasonable, distinct from the attempt to harmonise contradictory systems (= Syncretism), the position is then evidently allowable for a Christian.

The position here taken, then, on the question of the Beautiful and the Sublime, both in Nature and Fine Art, is that of moderate Eclecticism. I accept, indeed, the doctrine of St. Thomas above given, but do not disdain the help of others who have more fully treated these subjects. As in Natural Theology we may lawfully use the arguments of Butler, Paley, and Kant to establish the foundations of Religion; so in *Æsthetics*, in arguing against Sensationists, Empiricists, and the theory of Relativity of Knowledge, we may call in Kant and Hamilton against the two former, and seek help from Reid, M Cosh, and Cousin against the latter—those who maintain that we know nothing but our own ideas.

Against the loathsome latent Materialism of innumerable modern "*Æsthètes*," we may set up, without binding ourselves to all its details, "the gospel of Ruskin."

To set forth explicitly what has been implicitly accepted as the truth, it is necessary to enter into argument. The Standard of Beauty, and the *absolute, necessary, and universal* character of the Idea of the Beautiful, may be proved somewhat as follows. The true Standard of Beauty is in the soul, created to the image of God.*

* Cousin, Sième, Leçon, with a reference to Plato, *Timæus* and *Orator*

Raffaele is often quoted as holding the same doctrine as Plato and Cicero. In a letter to Castiglione, this is clearly stated: "Essendo carestia e de' buoni giudici e di belle donne, io mi servo di certa idea che mi viene alla mente."

Although the Idea of the Beautiful resides in the rational soul, there are clearly qualities in the Beautiful object itself necessarily lovely, even though there existed no human being to contemplate them. The defined forms, colours, as likewise the qualities of sound, are now acknowledged to be dependent on laws which can be exactly and mathematically expressed.

To begin with simple geometrical figures. A straight line is more consistent than a crooked line; a circle or an ellipse is more intellectually pleasurable than a series of abnormal curves; an isosceles or equilateral triangle is more harmonious than a scalene; the combination of the equilateral triangle and the double-centred Gothic arch—forming the most characteristic feature of that style in Mr. Ruskin's system—is more Beautiful still. In Greek architecture, as also in Byzantine, derived from it, where does the Beauty consist—if not in the exquisite proportion of one part to another, and to the whole?

In the very lovely forms of trees, as the chestnut, acacia, linden, plane, pine, and cedar, what do we find in attempting to copy them, but the most wonderful combinations of Beautiful curves, often so intricate as to evade our analysis? Yet no two combinations exactly alike!

The same analysis might be pursued in reference to the Beauty of the human form, and again as to Colour and Musical Notes. A colour—as red, yellow, green, blue or violet—has a definite place in Spectrum Analysis, representing each a given number of billions of vibrations, or undulations of the luminiferous ether per second.* A musical note, if perfect, represents exactly so many vibrations per second, and the most perfect concord of two notes in the octave, the ratio being as 1:2.

of Cicero. The latter well deserves to be recalled. Cicero is speaking of Phidias: "Neque enim ille artifex cum faceret Jovi formam aut Minervæ, contemplabatur aliquem a quo similitudinem duceret; sed ipsius in mente insidebat species pulchritudinis eximii quædam, quam intuens, in eaque defixus, ad illius similitudinem artem et manum dirigebat."

* Bernstein, "Five Senses of Man."

According to Professor M'Kendrick in his Christmas Lectures, while the range of an organ is from 18 to 30,000 vibrations per second, the extreme range of the human ear is eleven octaves, or from about 27 to over 60,000 per second.

Now, if it is true, as it appears to be, that parts of the intricate mechanism of the human ear are designed expressly for the appreciation of Musical Sound, and of which the lower animals are either destitute, or possess only in a limited degree, what an additional value is not thereby given to the argument from design and order in the universe! And what a striking proof of the harmony existing in the works of our Creator, and of the correspondence between the often perfect Beauty of the outer object, and the ideal of the soul, itself the image of God! What a clear refutation, then, are the facts now given of the theory of Hume that Beauty is no quality of the object, but merely individual and relative to the subject!

It only remains to say a few words in conclusion as to the great importance of true *Æsthetic* principles, and of their practical application to the Fine Arts, especially to Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting. It is a practical question to ask: When have those Arts flourished in the highest degree? First among the Greeks, when, as we have seen, the Beautiful and the Sublime were esteemed as in some aspects allied to the True, in others to the morally Good; when, in fine, a *lofty ideal* of Beauty was looked up to, revered, and endeavoured in practice to be wrought out.

Secondly, in the Middle Ages, when the Arts were regarded as the esteemed assistants and honoured allies of the Christian Religion. The arts of the Middle Ages were truly noble, Beautiful, and often Sublime—as witness the Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals of those days, Venice, Florence, Milan, Paris, Cologne, Vienna; or again, York, Lincoln, Canterbury, Gloucester, and Salisbury. Excepting St. Peter's, and a few others modelled upon it, where are succeeding centuries as to Architecture compared with the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries?

In Painting, is it not much the same? If you go into a purely modern Picture Gallery in England, or even in France, how many works will you find with any pretensions to the *ideal*? Examples of natural Beauty we may find, though even

those are apt to be scarce, but how many in which there is an earnest appeal to the highest type of Beauty, the true *ideal*?

Some Painters, as Mr. Holman Hunt, indeed attempt to portray religious scenes; though, to my mind, with little or no success at all.

It seems to me, then, sufficiently shown that so long as the principles of the Beautiful and the Sublime continue to be ignored and despised, so long will confusion and decadence reign in our Schools of Art. We shall never again attain to the exalted Beauty of Fra Angelico, the Bellinis, or even of a Memling, unless by putting in practice their principles; nor hope to rival a Giotto, a Brunelleschi, a Ghiberti, unless we strive like them to realise a lofty ideal of the heroic and Sublime.

JOSEPH LOUIS POWELL.

POSTSCRIPT.—It has been impossible to do full justice to all the topics raised, in the limits of the foregoing article. I add one or two notes.

1. As regards the criticism of modern Art I may say that I do not include in it the Architectural Mediæval revival in France, Germany, and England; but, on the contrary, highly commend the labours of Rio, Montalembert, Viollet-le-Duc in France, and of the Pugins, Hansoms and Scotts in England; also much modern Stained Glass, the French especially. In Painting I should certainly commend Lady Butler, whose works, as far as I know them, are thoroughly *ideal*, and sometimes even partake of the heroic and Sublime. The late President (Leighton), in some of his minor works, as the "Music Lesson"; Gustave Doré, and Millet (as seen in reproductions); Sir E. Burne-Jones (though I am not familiar with his recent works)—and others I need not now mention.

2. St. Augustine on the Platonic Ideas. On p. 75 Cousin gives several references. The following passage is to the point: "*Ideæ sunt formæ quædam principales, et rationes rerum stabiles et incommutabiles, quæ ipsæ formatae non sunt ac per hoc æternæ ac semper eodem modo sese habentes, quæ in divina intelligentia continentur.*" On p. 76 is a further passage entirely Platonic, in fact St. Augustine expressly mentions Plato's theory of Ideas.

3. Brief summary of Cousin's doctrine of the Beautiful:

La Beauté physique sert d'enveloppe à la beauté intellectuelle et à la beauté morale.

Dieu est le principe des trois ordres de beauté que nous avons distingués, la beauté physique, la beauté intellectuelle, et la beauté morale.

La beauté morale est le fond de toute vraie beauté.

Ce fond est un peu couvert et voilé dans la nature.

L'art le degage, et lui donne les formes plus transparentes. La fin de l'art est l'expression de la beauté morale à l'aide de la beauté physique.

Celle-ci n'est pour lui qu'un symbole de celle-là.

The whole passage is very fine, and the contrast he draws out between Nature and Art is worthy of study. Further on, he argues for the judicious union of the *real* and the *ideal* in works of Art. Leçons VII.—VIII.

ART. VI.—AN EXPERIMENT IN EDUCATION.

Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1894-5. Madras: Printed by the Superintendent Government Press. 1895.

IT sometimes happens that problems which perplex statesmen at Westminster have already been solved in colonies or dependencies of the British Empire. Meeting at a hill-station in India an experienced member of the local legislature, who has worked for a lifetime in the East, our conversation turned upon the Education Bill which was then before the House of Commons, and the Indian legislator remarked that it was not easy to understand why there should be so many difficulties in England, while in Madras, before our eyes, popular education is aided by State funds and by local funds, without any friction anywhere. The remark made an impression upon us and seemed to be worthy of expansion into an article.

It would not be a new thing for Britain to take lessons in methods of education from Madras. In Westminster Abbey is the grave of the Rev. Mr. Bell, a chaplain on the Anglican Establishment in India, and this grave bears the simple inscription, "The Founder of the Madras System of Education." Not one in ten thousand of those who step over this grave at the present day, know what this inscription means, but in the early part of this century Bell's new methods and the Madras system were much discussed among Educationalists. Riding through the streets of Indian towns he had noticed in the elementary schools by the wayside a scene which is familiar to all residents in the East, and which certainly does not appear to be a model deserving of imitation. The schoolmaster selects from the class the most intelligent pupil, teaches him the day's task and then reposes. The pupil sits facing the rest of the class, draws with his finger in the sand the letter or word and calls out its sound, the class shouting the sound in response to their tiny preceptor. This germ was fruitful in Mr. Bell's mind. From it he evolved the ideas of pupil teachers and of object lessons. This did not much differ from Lancaster's

system of monitors, but it attracted attention in Britain and was dignified by the title of the Madras system of education. The Madras College at St. Andrews was, as its name denotes, commenced under that system.

Once more let England take a lesson in educational matters from Madras. In India, that country of diverse races and of warring creeds, no religious difficulty whatever arises in the distribution of State-aid to education. In the famous despatch sent out by Sir Charles Wood in 1854, the principle was laid down that the Indian Government was to foster existing schools and to establish schools where none existed, but that the schools established by Government were only to fill up gaps and were not to oust existing schools. This principle has been loyally carried out for more than forty years. The tendency at the present day is rather to abolish the Government schools, when they appear to be no longer required. To the other schools maintained by private enterprise, which conform to certain prescribed rules, aid is granted because of the secular education given in the schools, and no questions are asked to discover whether the managers of these aided schools add to this secular education the Hindu religion, the Buddhist religion, the Mahomedan religion, the Christian religion, or no religion whatever. The simplest solution of the problem is the most effectual. The Government of India is absolutely neutral in matters of religion, and pays for secular education no matter what may be the peculiar religious tenets of the schoolmaster who imparts the secular education. This system prevails all over India, but we have chosen Madras as an illustration because that presidency contains so many Christians.

The distribution of this aid to private schools is entrusted to the Director of Public Instruction, who has under his orders a staff of itinerating inspectors. The rules under which this aid is given are contained in a concise but elastic code, power being given to the director to relax many of the rules upon cause shown. The main requirement of the rules is that secular education be given in a school for four hours each day or for twenty hours in the week, and in a college for three hours each day or for fifteen hours in the week. There is a conscience clause that no pupil attending this secular tuition, be therefore compelled to attend any religious instruction, and

any time given to religious instruction is, of course, additional, and cannot be reckoned as part of the minimum of four or three hours. The form which the aid takes is either a salary grant, which usually amounts to one-third of the salaries of the teachers in a school who are qualified under the rules, or a result grant which is calculated in accordance with the numbers present and the standards attained. There are also special grants, such as a grant of one-third of the cost of erecting a school building, or a grant of one-half of the cost of furniture, appliances and libraries; as has already been said, these aids are granted to all denominations indifferently and no religious difficulty arises. Archbishop Colgan, of Madras, was a member of the committee who drafted the rules, and the various mission societies have no scruple in submitting their schools for inspection and in drawing whatever amount the rules entitle them to draw. To Mahomedans special concessions are made by the director, because they cling to Arabic and the Koran and are somewhat reluctant to accept European education. To Hindus, except in remote tracts and for female education, no such favourable concessions are necessary. They earn the grant under the rules and draw it as a matter of course. Even such institutions as Pachayappa's school at Madras, endowed by a pious Hindu founder and managed by a Hindu committee, or as the college maintained by the Maharajah of Vizianagram, receive aid under the rules. With regard to the extent to which this system of aid assists the various Missionary societies in Southern India, we prefer to give instead of a general description, some instances that have come under our own notice. The American Lutheran and Baptist Missionaries at Guntur and Ongole, on the east coast, have more than two hundred primary schools under inspection and receiving aid. One instance of an aided school amused us. A respectable Eurasian, employed in the Postal Department, the father of a large family, was sent as postmaster to a town which was visited only at intervals by a priest and where there was no Catholic school. There were Hindu schools and Protestant mission schools, but he was reluctant to send his children to these, so he himself engaged a school-master on a small salary and set up a school for his own children on the verandah beside the post-office. The Catholic

neighbours heard of this and sent their children until the minimum number under the rules was reached. Then he sent in an application for inspection, inserting his own name as manager of this results grant school, and his bold endeavour was quite successful, for after the school had been carried on for the requisite one hundred and fifty days, it was duly inspected and triumphantly obtained a grant which relieved his purse of some of the expense which he had incurred. Last Easter we were at Vizagapatam where work the Society of St. Francis of Sales. Outside the town the Nuns of the Visitation are erecting a large new convent, and we found the Bishop busy sending in to the Director of Public Instruction a plan and estimates, with an application for a grant of one-third of the cost of that portion of the building which will be used as a school. For this aid is given not only to the struggling primary schools in rural villages, but also to the palatial structures in the large towns. Last year the Mission Étrangères drew more than Rs3000 as aid for their college at Cuddalore, but that is a small sum in comparison with Rs7000 drawn by the S.P.G. college at Trichinopoly and with Rs28,000 drawn by the Free Church of Scotland Christian College in Madras. The Jesuit Fathers at Mangalore drew Rs5000 for St. Aloysius' College, and the Jesuit Fathers at Trichinopoly drew Rs10,000 for St. Joseph's College. Moreover, with regard to qualifications for salary grants to these two Jesuit colleges, the Madras Government, upon the recommendation of the Director of Public Instruction, has authorised him to accept as equivalent to a university degree, the certificate of the Jesuit superior that the professors have passed through the prescribed course of training. Such an instance of fairness to a religious order shows the temper in which these grant-in-aid rules are administered.

If this result is possible in India, where for centuries Hindu and Mahomedan have been ready to clutch each other by the throat, and where almost every denomination of Christians in Europe or America has representatives, why cannot a similar result be obtained in England? It is true that in Britain the question is complicated by the existence of compulsory education, but that seems to make no essential difference. Where Voluntary schools are insufficient, the Act of 1870 provides that

Board schools be established, but it does not follow that Voluntary schools are to be starved, and that Board schools are to be pampered, until the Voluntary schools are driven out of existence. Board schools have behind them the limitless resources of the rates, but Government schools in India are in the same position for they have behind them the limitless resources of the revenues of India, yet they are not permitted to crowd out of existence the Voluntary schools in India. It all depends upon the spirit in which the system is administered, upon the spirit which the head-office instils into inspectors. Mr. Forster, in his speech upon the Education Bill of 1870, said that Board schools were only to fill up the gaps left by Voluntary schools. Sir Charles Wood, in his despatch of 1854, laid down the same principle with regard to Government schools in India. The difference is that the Government of India has loyally carried out that principle, while in England the principle has been put aside and Board schools are encouraged to swallow up all the other schools. When it is proposed to deal more liberally with Voluntary schools an outcry arises against subsidising religious instruction. Surely the simple way out of this difficulty is to do what the Government of India does, to pay Voluntary schools for the secular instruction which they give, and to leave it to the managers of these schools to add what religious instruction the managers see fit to prescribe.

G. T. MACKENZIE.

ART.. VII—MR. FROUDE AND THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.*

A HISTORY of the Council of Trent by the late Mr. Froude is a book to awaken lively anticipations, not unmixed with regrets and misgivings. Those who know the charm of his literary workmanship will welcome its appearance, but their foretaste of the pleasure in store for them will be tempered by the thought that this is the last of the works bequeathed to us by that brilliant pen.† And, unfortunately, this is by no means the only reason for regret in approaching the book before us. It would have been some source of satisfaction if this relic of a lost writer had been of a less controversial nature—some effort in the peaceful paths of pure literature and avowed romance. The subject of these lectures, indeed, gave him ample scope for displaying his power of vivid and picturesque narrative; for the great council and the troublous times in which it was held, are rich in mighty figures, and stirring scenes, and fitful changes of fortune. But if it was thus an occasion to show his strength, it unfortunately gave him yet greater opportunity for betraying his characteristic weakness. For there are few periods of history that need a larger measure of those gifts in which Mr. Froude was notoriously wanting. His warmest admirers will hardly claim for him that freedom from partisan bias, that painstaking diligence in sifting and weighing the conflicting evidence of his authorities, and that intimate knowledge of the moral and theological questions at issue, without which no writer, however gifted and eloquent, can hope to throw much light on the history of the great Reformation council.

It is with some such mingled hopes and misgivings that we take up the volume before us, to find both the one and the other only too well fulfilled. The history, if such it can be called, has both the merits and the defects which our previous know-

* "Lectures on the Council of Trent," delivered at Oxford, 1892-93. By James Anthony Froude, late Regius Professor of Modern History. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1896.

† The two subsequent courses of lectures have been already published.

ledge of its writer would have led us to expect. And to begin with the more welcome subject of its merits, it is pleasant to find that in these last labours the hand of the master had lost none of its old cunning. He is somewhat hampered, it is true, by the narrow limits necessarily imposed on his lectures, and a very large field of action is crowded into an inconveniently small canvas. Nevertheless, he contrives to give us more than one vivid and striking picture, and the stalwart figure of his hero, Luther, stands out in bold relief against the sombre background, composed of corrupt clergy and intriguing prelates, and the people they held in bondage. Take, for instance, the following passage on the Diet of Worms :

Never had the city of Worms witnessed a spectacle more magnificent than on the occasion when Luther appeared there. Deputies were collected from every part of the Empire; the young Charles, just twenty-one, pale, eager, intense, wise beyond his years, on the Imperial throne; the Roman cardinal in his purple, with his retinue of divines; princes and barons, with their knights and gentlemen, glittering in their steel coats in the pale light of the April afternoon; burgher representatives from the free cities—all passionate and heated with the seven days' angry debate on the corruptions of the Church, which had preceded Luther's arrival. Before them the mean, insignificant-looking monk in his brown frock, who had brought together that august assembly, standing there under the Pope's curse to be tried for his life (p. 52).

We quote this not merely as one of the most pleasing purple patches, but as giving what may be called the keynote of the whole work. It is, indeed, a prose drama of no mean order. And if we look at it simply as a work of art, an historical romance cast in the somewhat singular form of lectures, we are constrained to allow its high merit and augur well for its success.

But we cannot forget that the book purports to be something very different from this—nothing less, in fact, than the judgment of a grave writer on one of the most momentous epochs in religious history. Nay, the author himself tells us that it is impossible to magnify the importance of the Council which he has taken for the subject of these lectures. If this be so, a heavy responsibility rests on one who undertakes to set forth, and interpret to his young hearers, the story of that

eventful epoch. Is it too much to ask him to weigh his words well, and deal impartial justice to the various actors in that historic drama? May we not look for a calm and candid statement of facts, and a searching examination of their meaning, undisturbed by bias, or prejudice, or party passion? Something like this might well be expected at the hands of an Oxford Regius Professor. Mr. Froude, however, has given us none of these things. And what do we find in their stead? A very one-sided and narrow view, that can only serve to mislead the unwary reader, and provoke the indignation of those who are better informed—and it may go far to give a new lease of life to some venerable prejudices and misconceptions, which were happily fading into oblivion.

A Catholic critic may well find it hard to meet the Professor's charges without anger or bitterness. Who, indeed, can speak with becoming patience of a writer who justifies the barbarous execution of the Blessed John Fisher, while he glorifies Crumwell and Cranmer as the fathers of our freedom? And yet there are some reasons that restrain us from bringing any railing accusations against this provoking author. In the first place, "we war not with the dead." We could forgive Mr. Froude many things for the sake of the name he bore, and for love of his brother's memory. And thirdly—shall we say it?—with all respect for his great powers as a master of nervous English, we have some difficulty in taking him quite seriously.

But let us leave the personality of the author, as far as may be, out of our consideration, and turn our attention to his presentment of the Tridentine history. And what, in a few words, is the picture he has given us? The task of summing it up is not so hard as might be thought, for be its defects what they may, Mr. Froude's view of the Council, and indeed of the whole Reformation movement, has, at any rate, the merit of extreme simplicity. The laity, it would seem, were constrained, sorely against their own will, to revolt against the tyranny of a corrupt and degenerate clergy. The Emperor Charles V. and the other secular princes, anxious to bring about the much-needed reform demanded by Luther and his fellows, sought to avail themselves of the help afforded by a General Council of the Western Church. But the intrigues of

popes, and cardinals, and prelates were more than a match for these well-meant and honest endeavours, which in other circumstances had every hope of a successful issue. The long expected Council was first delayed, then controlled by the Pope. And the assembled bishops, anxious to exclude the Protestant divines and stave off their measures of drastic reform, amused themselves by laying down a number of "metaphysical" definitions on points of doctrine, which only served to accentuate and perpetuate the unhappy divisions of Christendom. The princes, justly indignant at these proceedings, felt that it was time that the farce should end. Maurice of Saxony, apparently with the connivance of the Emperor, marched upon Innsbruck, and Trent was hastily abandoned by the guilty bishops. "The unfortunate Fathers," says the sympathetic historian, "were like a gang of coiners surprised by the police" (p. 300).

Such, in our own imperfect words, is the story which we have gathered from Mr. Froude's lectures. His course closes, somewhat abruptly, with this suspension of the Council in 1552. He contrives, however, to find room for the following tribute to its later labours :

The Council, the child of so many hopes, which was to have restored peace to Europe, vanished into space, with its last act making peace impossible. It met ten years later, but in purpose and nature a new assembly, with which I have no present concern. It met no longer with a pretence of desiring peace, but to equip and renovate the Roman communion for the reconquest of its lost dominions. It met to split nations into factions; to set subjects against their sovereigns and sovereigns against subjects; to break the peace of families, to fight with and trample down the genius of dawning liberty. The history of Europe for a hundred years was the history of the efforts of the Church, with open force or secret conspiracy, with all the energy, base or noble, which passion or passionate enthusiasm could inspire, to crush and annihilate its foes. No means came amiss to it, sword or stake, torture chamber or assassin's dagger. The effects of the Church's working were seen in ruined nations and smoking cities, in human beings tearing one another to pieces like raging maniacs, and the honour of the Creator of the world befouled by the hideous crimes committed in His name. All this is forgotten now, forgotten or even audaciously denied (pp. 300-1).

There is certainly no mistaking the meaning of this verdict, or, to speak more accurately, this indictment against the Tri-

dentine Council. The Popes and the Catholic bishops are arraigned as the guilty authors of the unhappy divisions which have desolated Europe in the past three hundred years. And when Mr. Froude has done due honour to his Protestant heroes, and sung what may be called a hymn of triumph over the freedom which they won for us in that fateful fight, he adds :

Yet with a little more wisdom, a little more goodwill in the Roman Pope, mankind might have been spared so bitter an experience. The Council which Charles V. had brought together might have peacefully accomplished the same results. It was wrecked only on the determination of the Church of Rome to resist the reform of abuses which the Church itself could neither deny nor excuse (p. 303).

And this extravagant picture of the Council and its proceedings is not put forth in some Protestant pamphlet, or delivered with due roll of drum ecclesiastic in the congenial atmosphere of a "No Popery" meeting. It comes before us as the teaching of history. It purports to be the impartial and matured verdict of one who has studied the facts for himself, and speaks with all the authority that belongs to a *Regius Professor* !

If the simplicity of Mr. Froude's version of the Tridentine history makes it a light labour to give our readers some account of the story told in these lectures, the task of testing its truth is by no means so easy. And the difficulty is certainly not lessened by the singular scarcity of documentary evidence and references to authorities. For this blemish, indeed, the author himself is doubtless free from blame, as he did not live to prepare the text for publication, and the lectures which were printed in his lifetime were duly furnished with references. The anonymous editors of the present volume, while calling our attention to this fact, have abstained from any attempt to supply the deficiency. All that is vouchsafed us is the following comfortable assurance :

The quotations are not literal translations, but abridgments or paraphrases, and as their accuracy can, for the most part, easily be verified, it has been thought advisable to publish the lectures as they stood, with only a few verbal corrections (Preface).

There is, however, less reason to regret this omission, as the

real question at issue is something very different from the verbal accuracy, or otherwise, of Mr. Froude's quotations, or the trivial details of his narrative. We may, perhaps, have our misgivings concerning some of his statements, and on one or two of them we may have something to say before we have done. But what chiefly concerns us here is the larger and deeper question which the book, as a whole, will raise in the minds of so many readers. Granted, for argument sake, that this or that expression may be a shade too strong, and the colours may here and there be laid on with a too lavish hand, still the question remains, is the picture true or no in its main features? Was the Reformation a revolt against priestly tyranny, a movement born of light and new knowledge, and a yearning for real reform? Was this the one object of the Emperor and the princes and the Protestants, while the Pope and his prelates fought against it by intrigues and delays till the hope of peace was lost, and Europe was rent asunder?

To give an adequate answer to these questions it would be necessary to write the history not only of the Council of Trent, but of the whole Reformation movement from its first faint beginning—a task which, for obvious reasons, cannot be attempted here. It may be found in full in Pallavicino's great work, or told in a more compendious fashion in Hergenröther's "Church History." Here we must content ourselves by setting forth, in as few words as may be, our own reading of the facts, and some at least of our reasons for regarding Mr. Froude's version as the veriest travesty of the truth.

Let us say at once that we have no wish to meet Mr. Froude in his own fashion, and give an equally partisan picture from the other side. It is easy to abound in comminations and curses on the Reformation and its authors, but it will perhaps be more profitable to make some attempt to understand the real meaning of the movement. Now, we are by no means prepared with a view of the matter that can be set forth with the terse simplicity of Mr. Froude's theory. For that simplicity is itself enough to stamp his estimate as unreal. The movement called by courtesy the Reformation is really one of the most complex events in history, the outcome of many and widely different causes, and the work of very various agents, swayed by strangely mixed and contrary

motives. It is not the simple sweep of one wide wave, but a very *maelstrom* of multitudinous and conflicting currents. We can only make it simple by shutting our eyes to a good half of the facts, and eliminating some of the main factors of the problem.

Without making any claim to completeness, we may perhaps select the following as among the most important forces.

The noblest element is that which has somehow been suffered to give its name to the whole movement—the indignation aroused by the prevailing corruptions, and a passionate yearning for reform. This factor has certainly not been forgotten by Mr. Froude, for it is this that he exalts at the expense of the others. And he makes matters worse by representing the corruptions which provoked it as the peculiar portion of the clergy, who were consequently to be reformed by the zeal and wisdom of lay princes and statesmen in the light of the new learning.

Now we are certainly not going to dispute the existence of grave corruptions, or question the fact that this was one of the main sources of the religious revolution, and the unhappy divisions which have followed in its train. The proofs thereof may be plainly seen in the Tridentine decrees, and in the lives and writings of witnesses more unimpeachable than Mr. Froude's favourite, Erasmus. But is it true that the corruption was confined to the clergy, so that the reform must needs have come from the statesmen and the scholars? We confess we had thought that the latter had, to say the least, their full share in the prevailing evils of the age; that some of the ecclesiastical abuses were largely due to secular influences, and to that renascent paganism which darkened the new dawn of classic learning. He must, surely, be a singular censor of morals who can hail the humanist scholars as helpers in the cause of reform, while he lashes the vices of the unhappy monks and clergy!

The taint of more than pagan corruption which followed in the wake of the Renaissance had done much to beget and spread further those evils against which the Reformers clamoured so loudly. Yet, by a strange freak of fortune, the light-armed forces of the humanist scholars played an important part in the battle against the monks and clergy. And their presence may be regarded as a sign that there was already a foreign and dis-

tinctly immoral element in the movement. Is it zeal for reform, and for the light of the pure gospel that speaks in the scurrilous buffoonery of such works as "*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*," and that "savage satire," as Mr. Froude justly calls it, the "*Julius Exclusus*?"* It would be unfair to hold the Reformers responsible for all that was said or done by their allies. Still, the presence of this element should not be overlooked if we would understand the movement as a whole. When once the banner of revolt against Church authority was raised—let the original motive be ever so pure—it was only natural that a strangely assorted crew of allies and camp-followers should rally round it. And thus, if only for the sake of law and order, the duty of upholding legitimate authority in the Church was not less urgent than that of reforming its corrupt members.

The intermingling of these two divergent currents would have made the problem sufficiently perplexing. But they were not left to take their natural course. Their movements were now neutralised, or checked, now modified, and now hurried on with a fresh impetus, by another system of very various forces that had their origin in the loud-roaring loom of politics. The Emperor and the other secular sovereigns do, indeed, play an important part in Mr. Froude's version of the Reformation drama, but they are represented as simply striving for moral and religious reforms. They are, it would seem, the chosen champions of light and liberty against a corrupt and overbearing priesthood. We are told how speedily and peacefully the religious changes were carried out throughout the north of Europe; and in one passage the author dwells with delight on the new birth of popular freedom, which he apparently regards as one of the blessings for which we are beholden to the Reformation. Now, even without much acquaintance with sixteenth century politics, we might well be pardoned for some scepticism as to the reforming zeal of the German princes and statesmen. No doubt their policy was influenced in some degree by moral and religious motives. But is there not yet greater reason for thinking that too many of their actions in the matter of ecclesiastical reform

* But why did he deign to translate it at length and give it to his Oxford pupils as a source of information about Pope Julius II.? See his "*Life and Letters of Erasmus*."

were guided, or inspired, by political aims and ambitions? And it is by no means true that the change of religion was generally associated with a larger measure of popular freedom; still less is it the case that the Reformation itself was the cause of any such emancipation. Even when the two changes are found together, the advancing wave of democracy may as reasonably be regarded as the source rather than the fruit of the change in religion. And to some it will seem that the political history of the time bears tokens that a very different current was at work in many quarters. There was a tendency to set up the despotic ideal of pagan Cæsarism, in place of the truly democratic estates, and the limited monarchies of mediæval Europe.* And besides these domestic struggles between princes and peoples, the restless rivalry of the nations was roused to fever heat by the growing power of the House of Hapsburg. Who can deny that these various forces were at work in the political world, or that they had a far-reaching influence on the course of the Reformation? Schiller, who scarcely yields to Mr. Froude in his praise of the good done by the teaching of the Reformers, nevertheless allows that the princes were constrained to act as they did by reasons of state policy, and that on both sides religious fanaticism was helped by "very worldly passions."†

All these things must be borne in mind and given their due weight, if we would rightly understand the circumstances under which the Council of Trent was summoned, and the difficulty of the task it had before it. But there is another element in

* The question of Renaissance Cæsarism has been admirably treated by Mr. Lilly in his "Chapters in European History." See DUBLIN REVIEW, April 1879.

† "Der Reiz der Unabhängigkeit, die reiche Beute der geistlichen Stifter, musste die Regenten nach einen Religionsveränderung lüstern machen, und das Gewicht der innern Ueberzeugung nicht wenig bei ihnen verstärken; aber die Staatsraison allein konnte sie dazu drängen. Hätte nicht Karl der Fünfte im Uebermuth seines Glücks an die Reichsfreiheit der deutschen Stände gegriffen, schwerlich hätte sich ein protestantischer Bund für die Glaubensfreiheit bewaffnet, u. s. w."—"Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Kriegs," Theil i. B. 1. "So feurig auch das Interesse war, mit welchem die eine Hälfte Europens die neuen Meinungen aufnahm und die andere dagegen kämpfte, so eine mächtige Triebfeder der Religionsfanatismus auch für sich selbst ist, so waren es doch grossentheils sehr weltliche Leidenschaften, welche bei dieser grossen Begebenheit geschäftig waren, und grossentheils politische Umstände, welche die unter einander im Kampfe begriffenen Religionen zu Hülfe kamen. In Deutschland, weiss man, begünstigte Luthern und seine Meinungen das Misträuen der Stände gegen die wachsende Macht Oesterreichs, u. s. w."—"Geschichte der Unruhen in Frankreich, u. s. w."

the problem, the consideration of which is even more important—the doctrinal tenets of the German Reformers. It is necessary to insist on this point, because there is a very common tendency to put it aside, or to confuse it with another question from which it is really distinct. And the somewhat ambiguous nature of the word “reform” serves to support and shelter this confusion. As the divines of Wittenberg did not profess to bring in a new religion, but simply claimed to preach the gospel in its primitive purity, they were naturally led to speak of such Catholic doctrines as they rejected as so many corruptions of the truth, and to regard this rejection—like the removal of practical abuses—as a *reform*. But however natural this language may be in their mouths, and however flattering to the partisans of one side, it is obviously the duty of a fair and philosophic historian to make a clear distinction between changes in doctrine and reforms in practice.

It may, perhaps, be urged that the changes in belief were but the result of an impetuous zeal for reform, driven to excess by the perverse resistance of those who lived on the abuses and practical corruptions. But this is, surely, a crude and superficial account of the matter—much on a par with the opposite view of some Catholic controversialists, for whom Luther and his companions are nothing more than rebellious monks, seeking to gratify their own lust and ambition under the cloak of a zeal for religion. If we look further and deeper into the facts, these narrow theories will hardly satisfy us. An indiscreet zeal against abuses—to say nothing of the private failings and passions of individual reformers, or of the arrogance and needless violence of some who sought to check them—may have helped to hasten the *dénouement*; and, undoubtedly, these things embittered the feelings with which the Reformers assailed the Catholic doctrines, and hardened the obstinacy with which they maintained their own. But, unless we are much mistaken, the difference of doctrine was there from the very first. Even before his famous assault on the Indulgences, Martin Luther had already adopted principles which may be said to contain the germ of his subsequent system. Opinions may differ as to the origin of his peculiar doctrine on justification. Some may think that he worked it out for himself by his own interpretation of St. Paul; others that he had taken too literally some unguarded

expressions of mystic writers, like the author of the "*Deutsche Theologie*"; and others, again, with less reason, will seek to connect it with the tenets of the Paulicians. But however he came by them, it is clear that Luther's ideas on this subject were already taking definite shape before 1517, and were the cause, rather than the outcome, of his attack on the Indulgences.*

"It is well worthy of remark," says Ranke, "that, even then, Luther looked for the salvation of the world far less to an amendment of life, which was only secondary in his eyes, than to a revival of the true doctrines; and there was none with the importance of which he was so penetrated and filled as with that of justification by faith."†

A fair and candid consideration of these various factors in the Reformation movement, can hardly be favourable to Mr. Froude's version of Tridentine history. For it is only by putting some of them out of sight, that we can come to regard his story as even a plausible explanation of the events. Had the question at issue been nothing more than the removal of abuses, and corrupt practices, and priestly tyranny, a general council might well have brought the whole matter to a peaceful and satisfactory conclusion. And if the Emperor, and the German princes, and divines, had nothing but this benevolent object in view, the Pope and his bishops might perhaps be left to bear the blame of thwarting their efforts, and desolating Europe with religious divisions. But when once we come to examine the dogmatic teaching of the Wittenberg Reformers, and the principles implied in their whole course of action, the matter will appear in a very different light. It is idle to accuse the Bishops at Trent of creating divisions in Christendom, if a real and deep division was made already. And with what show of justice can they be blamed for hindering religious reunion, if that union was no longer possible, and the wounds were so deep and wide that no council, however full and free and representative, could have hoped to heal them?

It is in vain that Mr. Froude reminds us how all were still prepared to abide by the decision of a free general council.

* This subject has been thoroughly investigated by Dr. Döllinger in the third volume of his work on the Reformation.

† "*History of the Reformation*," vol. i. p. 326, English translation. The historian is here speaking of Luther's language before the outbreak of hostilities.

For who can really believe that such a motley assembly as that which he pictures, could have come to any decision on the profound questions at issue? And if we can, for a moment, imagine the majority deciding against Luther's fundamental doctrine, his *Articulus stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiæ*, can we conceive him submitting to this decree? Why should he bow to the decision of a very fallible assembly against a doctrine which he had found for himself, as he considered, in the very Word of God? It does not follow that the call for a council, and the offer to abide by its judgment, was therefore insincere and disingenuous. For the Council was to decide by convincing from the scripture, and this readiness to accept it need mean no more than an expression of the reformers' confidence in their own convictions, and in the justice of their cause. On the other hand, if we suppose that the German princes, with the possible connivance of the Emperor, had succeeded in capturing the Council, intimidating the Bishops by their threats, or outnumbering their votes by a liberal infusion of lettered laymen and Lutheran divines, what would have been the inevitable result? Assuredly, not peace and unity. A Tridentine Latrocinium might have legislated for the Northern nations. Fra Paolo and his latest English disciple would have preached panegyrics on its proceedings. But the Pope and his loyal children in Spain, and Italy, and Ireland, would certainly have stood aloof—and the divisions would still have been, to say the least, as wide as ever.

Nor can it be said that some compromise might have been effected between the different parties; that "metaphysical" questions of doctrine might have been left alone, or treated as moot points, so that peace and unity might be saved, and all might thus join hands in the good work of progress and moral reform. We would not speak lightly against a policy of give and take, in the common interests of peace and charity. What society, sacred or secular, can afford to do without some such mutual forbearance on the part of its members? But there are certain indispensable conditions, without which no honourable or useful compromise can be effected. There must be some common basis of agreement. While the differences are only on minor matters, the private opinions of individuals may well be sacrificed, or silenced for the sake of some greater good. But what

can be hoped of a compromise where the parties differ on deep and fundamental principles, where the reality is sacrificed to grasp at the shadow, where great truths are hushed in silence, or muttered with bated breath, as private opinions, and their open denial is patiently endured, in order that believers and unbelievers may hide their differences, and find some miserable mask of unity in diluted liturgies and ambiguous creeds? And this was all that could be achieved by Mr. Froude's free council.

At first sight, it might seem hard to understand how any intelligent student of Reformation history can miss the great difference in principle and doctrine between the Papal and Lutheran divines. But Mr. Froude does not seem to have been at much pains to master the meaning of the Catholic teaching, if we may judge by the following remarkable passage on the subject of Indulgences :

What indulgences were, nobody precisely knew. Originally they meant no more than a relaxation of the ordinary Church discipline—permission to eat meat in Lent, and such like. As time went on they assumed a graver character. Plenary indulgences were issued at the Crusades; a sort of papal benediction—an intimation that the buried sins of warriors risking their lives for God and Christ would not be sharply looked after. The practice, once established, was continued as an easy means of raising money, and it was found better to leave the meaning of it undefined. Casuists said that indulgences were a remission of penances inflicted by Church authority on confession of sin. Objectors answered that penances were medicines ordered for the health of men's souls; that it was a strange way of doing good to a sick man to absolve him from the necessity of taking his physic. But the system was popular, and the longer it continued the wider the construction that was placed upon it. The sense of sin was uncomfortable, repentance difficult, and penance or purgatory disagreeable. It was pleasant to feel relieved by a Pope's remission, which could be bought for a few shillings. The authorities perhaps considered that, if indulgences could do no good, at least they could do no harm. When questions were asked about them by curious persons or councils, the explanation finally given had been, that the merits of the saints exceeded what was required for their own salvation, the excess was laid up in the papal treasury for the Pope to distribute. If at any time the supply was insufficient, Christ's merits were infinite and inexhaustible for the Pope to draw upon; and the merits of the saints and the merits of Christ together would be imputed to those who had no merit of their own, if they had faith enough to buy the indulgences.

It is interesting to observe that this was the origin of the Protestant

doctrine of imputed righteousness—I mean of the particular and prominent position which it assumed in the Lutheran theology. The Pope's doctrine was that sinners could be saved by the imputation of the saints' merits with Christ's in addition. Luther said that saints have not merit enough to save themselves, that no action of man is good enough to stand God's scrutiny. The work is Christ's alone. He found the belief in substitution already established. He accepted it with a change of persons. The difference was that Luther required faith and repentance and a renewed life, if the imputed righteousness was to be of any avail. The papal method required only a ducat or two (pp. 28-30).

It is difficult to treat this utterance seriously. But our sense of its absurdity is soon lost in a feeling of regret at finding one whose high powers deserved some better employment, displaying this airy ignorance on a grave subject. What can be said of an author who can either take upon himself to lecture on this question, without having first consulted the proper authorities, or having done so, can insult his audience with this travesty of the Catholic doctrine? We do not expect the Professor to receive that teaching as true. But is it too much to ask that he should make himself acquainted with its real nature, before he makes it the subject of his discourse? What becomes of this marvellous comparison between the Catholic and the Lutheran doctrine, when we recall the fact that an Indulgence is but the remission of temporal punishment due to a sin, the guilt of which has been forgiven—that the merits of the saints are themselves the fruit of the merits of Christ—and that no Indulgence can be of any avail without real repentance? This fact might have been learnt from any handbook of theology, nay, from any well-instructed Catholic child. But that it may not be said that our doctrine has only taken this shape since Luther's time, we may refer to a standard work printed at Venice in 1495, when the Reformer was but a boy—the “*Summa Angelica*.” Here we are told plainly that an Indulgence is “*quædam remissio pænæ debitæ peccato post contritionem habitam de eo*.” And to go to a greater authority than Brother Angelo, the *locus classicus* in the Canon law, we find Pope Clement VI., while laying down the doctrine about the “treasure” of the merits of Christ and the saints, plainly stating that the treasures are to be applied *vere penitentibus et confessis*.* So much for the assertion that “the papal

* Extrav. Com. l. 5, t. 9, c. 2.

method required only a ducat or two." And if the Catholic doctrine of Indulgences may be mistaken, or misused by ignorant or evil-minded men, is not the Lutheran doctrine on justification, to say the least, equally liable to abuse and misconception? But we should be sorry to treat that doctrine as Mr. Froude has treated this Catholic teaching.

There is, unhappily, no doubt that there were abuses in this matter of Indulgences; and no Catholic, however anxious he may be to defend the orthodox faith, can have any sort of sympathy with these simoniacal and superstitious practices, or any wish to screen, or excuse the offenders. At the same time, we may be allowed to add that ignorance and prejudice have grossly exaggerated the story of these abuses, and innocent men have been made the subject of unjust reproach. Such would seem to be the case with Luther's antagonist, the Dominican Tetzel, of whom some Catholic writers would fain make a convenient scapegoat. As might be expected, he cuts a sorry figure in Mr. Froude's pages.

Tetzel went about his work [we are told] as if to challenge notoriety. . . . The churches were decorated to receive him, a red cross was set on the altar, a silk banner floating from it with the papal arms, and an iron dish stood at the foot to receive the money of the purchasers who came to trade. Tetzel himself, from the pulpit, exhorted every sinner to use his opportunity and come and buy salvation. No sin, he said, was so gross that an Indulgence would not cover it. The efficacy of the remedy was proved by one plain argument—that any one who doubted was damned eternally.

It was said, besides, that Tetzel and his companions were dissolute livers, and spent their share of the spoil in drink and debauchery. It may have been so; but such charges are easily brought and easily believed. If Tetzel had been a saint, his errand was an equally disastrous one to his employers (pp. 33-4).

As we read this, we are somehow reminded of the orator who relied on his memory for wit, and on his imagination for facts. For the "one plain argument" put into Tetzel's mouth is obviously a reminiscence of Swift's profane buffoonery.* It is only too true that such calumnies as were flung at Tetzel and his friends "are easily brought and easily believed." Why, then, are they thus repeated, and coupled with an account of

* See "A Tale of a Tub," sec. iv.

the preacher's language, which is equally void of foundation? A more careful historian would have considered the evidence brought together by Valentin Gröne, who has shown the much-maligned Dominican in a very different light.*

If we may judge by his utterances in the present volume, Mr. Froude does not seem to have made any attempt to understand the Catholic position, or to see how the task confronting the bishops assembled at Trent would appear from a Roman standpoint. Or if the attempt has been made, it has surely been singularly unsuccessful. Before we leave the subject, it may be well to see if we can do something to supply this deficiency. We have already seen what were the main forces at work in the movement, and the foremost dangers hanging over the Church like lowering clouds—the corruption and abuses crying aloud for reform, new and dangerous doctrines arising out of the teeming waters of German thought, with an energy that was strengthened and intensified by the prevailing corruptions, and by the intemperate zeal of many of those who were clamouring for reform. And this double danger was further enhanced by the conflicting interests of the Emperor and the other secular princes. In the face of this storm, the Pope and the bishops had the plain duty of carrying out a searching reform in matters of discipline and morals; but it was not less necessary that they should strive to stem the rising tide of false doctrines, and, what is more, that they should carry out this work in such a way as to vindicate the principle of Church authority, and compel the assent of all loyal Catholics to their decisions. They had no direct concern with merely political matters, except that the peace and concord of Christian princes was necessary, in order that the council might assemble in safety and without fear of interference, and prosecute its labours with some hope of success. Of any interference on the part of secular sovereigns, and of the intrusion of laymen and Lutherans into the discussions of the council, the bishops were justly jealous—not merely from the fear of being reformed, but as a

* See Hergenröther, "Kirchengeschichte," iii. p. 8. Besides the work, "Tetzel und Luther," to which the historian refers, Gröne has written a valuable monograph on the subject of Indulgences, where he says emphatically that he has nowhere found the Catholic teaching on that question put more clearly than in Tetzel's theses.—"Der Ablass, seine Geschichte u. Bedeutung, u. s. w." p. 116.

matter of right and principle, and to guard the faith committed to their keeping.

Mr. Froude makes merry over the unanimity and despatch displayed by the Fathers in defining "metaphysical" points of doctrine, compared with the difficulties and delays which beset them when they came to deal with the thorny problem of reform. It is strange that he should miss the real significance of this unanimity in doctrine. The bishops of Trent were not of one nation, or of one theological school. They had amongst them some men of no mean ability, and as his own account of the discussions bears witness, they were not wanting in obstinacy and independent spirit. If, then, the doctrines denied by the Reformers were no more than scholastic opinions, how are we to explain this singular agreement? Even for those who do not bow to the authority of the Council, this unanimity might well be enough to show that the Wittenberg doctrines were really in conflict with the common belief of the Western Church.

Some progress had already been made in their arduous task, when the labours of the bishops were rudely interrupted by the march of Maurice. We need not enter into the causes and motives of that movement. But we may remark in passing, that Mr. Froude's conjecture as to the consent, or connivance, of Charles, hardly seems to be in keeping with his own picture of the Emperor's character. And on the hypothesis of this collusion, the hurried flight of the Emperor, through rains and snows, when he was already stricken down by sickness, strikes us as a somewhat needless piece of dramatic realism.

But what is of more moment than this matter of imperial statecraft, is our author's astounding language on the subsequent history of the Council. His words have already been quoted on a previous page, and there is, happily, no need to repeat them here.* In justification of his sweeping charges he vouchsafes us one solitary piece of evidence, which will scarcely be thought conclusive—a brief reference to the massacre of St. Bartholomew and to an alleged Papal approval of that dastardly deed. We can by no means accept his account as accurate; and the accusation he repeats has already been met by more than one Catholic writer.

* See p. 327.

But, even as it stands, the statement would not justify Mr. Froude's language. What would be thought if a Catholic historian were to charge the Reformers with deluging Europe with blood, on the strength of the slaughter at Drogheda, or the Nones of Haarlem?

And what is the true story of those closing years which Mr. Froude has painted in such a lurid light? The political changes which suspended its labours for ten troublous years, made no real break in the unity of the Tridentine Council. If the Protestant leaders had abandoned any hope of controlling it, there was no change in the purpose of the Catholic Bishops. They met once more to take up and complete their twofold task of vindicating and safeguarding the teaching of the Church by dogmatic definitions, and purifying her members by rigorous reforms. The student of history who wishes to understand the story of their labours will do well to turn from the bloodstained chronicles to which Mr. Froude would send him, and betake himself instead to the Acts and Decrees which the Tridentine Fathers have left us. There, he will find, on the one hand, a series of luminous expositions of the Catholic doctrine on the needs and weakness of our fallen nature, on the gift of justification and supernatural holiness vouchsafed us through the merits of our Divine Redeemer, and on the Sacraments which are the channels of His saving grace. And, on the other hand, may be seen a code of laws carefully devised to correct and prevent abuses, to order and elevate the lives of the clergy, and purify the morals of the people. But, if we wish to see more clearly the truth of that teaching, and the reality of that reform, we may judge of the one by its sources, and of the other by its fruits. Going backwards up the stream of tradition we may see the early Fathers and schoolmen teaching and explaining the doctrines, which are, so to say, condensed and crystallised in the dogmatic definitions of Trent. And coming down the tide of later Catholic history, we may find the Tridentine reforms put in practice by zealous bishops, in the holding of synods, and founding of seminaries, and the due ordering of divine worship. The real meaning of the campaign inaugurated at Trent may be better learnt by looking at the good work done by St. Charles in his synods and in his pastoral labours at

Milan, than in wandering over battlefields and scenes of massacre.

If we could hope that Mr. Froude would send many of his readers to study the history of the Council for themselves, we should have little reason to regret the appearance of these brilliant but misleading lectures. For who can set limits to the good which can hardly fail to follow from a true knowledge of the Council of Trent, and of the place it holds in modern religious history? The divisions that came with the Reformation movement are, unhappily, still with us. And while in some quarters the new ideas which were then adopted have run their full course, elsewhere, as Cardinal Newman tells us, there are those in whom that progress has been arrested, so that they are "frozen in an intermediate state between Protestant premisses and their rightful inferences." But now, both among those who have hitherto halted half-way, and among those who have drifted so far down the stream that they can see the dark issue before them, the yearning for a return to unity is once more finding voice. This in itself is a happy omen. But the first condition for success is a clearer knowledge of the nature and causes of the schism, and of the one principle that can avail to heal it. And these things are seen writ large in the history of the Tridentine Council. It stands at the parting of the ways, when the first steps were being taken to break up the ancient unity of Western Christendom, and if it availed not to bring back those who were already adrift—as, indeed, no Council has ever done—it still succeeded in the work for which it was summoned. It stayed the tide of desertion by asserting and setting up the principle of authority, making no sacrifice of truth for the sake of outward unity, and showing how the only real and living unity is that which has truth for its bond and foundation, and how abuses and corruptions can find a real reformation, while we hold fast by the faith of our fathers.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

ART. VIII.—THE CELTIC SOURCES OF THE DIVINA COMMEDIA.

IN a work published a few years since at Bologna by Francesco Corazzini, under the auspices of the Italian Accademia delle Scienze, attention is called to the critical essays of Mussafia, who maintains that the whole plan of Dante's great poem is of Irish origin. Corazzini's work, of which, as stated in the preface, only 200 copies were printed, has not been translated into English or French, and has (probably for this reason) escaped the notice of the distinguished scholars of our day who have devoted special study to Italian and Dantesque literature. Its importance consists in the fact that it is the first time, after an interval of nearly 600 years, in which Italian critics have come forward to prove that the work of their immortal countryman derives its source from the remote island of Erin, so renowned in the earlier ages of Christendom as the lamp of learning. The "Divine Comedy" has been translated into every language of Europe, not once but repeatedly, and learned commentators (including in our own time the Holy Father Pope Leo XIII., M. Arnold, Rossetti, Dean Plumptre, &c.) have given their tribute of admiration and served to elucidate the pre-eminent beauties of Dante; but with rare exceptions translators and commentators have passed lightly over the sources of his inspiration. It is not the object of this article to trace all the sources which they think inspired the great poet, namely, the writings of the ancients, especially the sixth book of the *Æneid*, the poetic visions of the Middle Ages, Eastern and European, the vision of his master Brunetto Lattini, the Sagas, and the works of art which in his time were so plentifully scattered around. Nor is it to the purpose whether Dante read Homer in the original or not. Dean Plumptre says it is possible, though not probable, that he may have had access through translation or otherwise to the vision of Hades in the *Odyssey*, or to the mythical representations of the unseen in the *Gorgias*, the *Phædo*, the *Republic* of Plato, whereas Bruce Whyte, in his

"Histoire des langues Romanes," says that Dante's knowledge of Homer is evident from a vast mass of imitative passages, and surely his admiration of Aristotle must have led him to inspect that author in the original tongue. There certainly existed in his day no translation of the Iliad from which he could derive his information.

Most of the modern commentators have been content to say that the author of the *Divina Commedia* appeared to be indebted for many of his ideas to the vision of Fra Alberico, a monk of Monte Cassino, who flourished in the preceding century. This statement is to be found in the preface of Cary's translation (1812), and as the translator was librarian of the British Museum during the greater part of his life, it is significant that he seems to have passed over the claims of St. Fursey. Mr. Cary was also a clergyman, and must have been conversant with the writings of his illustrious countryman Ven. Bede, whose life of St. Fursey exists in the British Museum, and in this book (written 500 years before the birth of Dante) is found the vision of Hell, Purgatory and Paradise, from which all subsequent poems in this line of thought may be said to derive their origin. It seems more than probable that Mr. Cary had read Bede's works, and among them St. Fursey's vision, and it is to be regretted that so distinguished a writer kept silence on so important a point of literary history. Thirty years after the appearance of Cary's translation the German writer Kopitsch (Berlin, 1842) unfolded to the world, in the preface to his translation of Dante, the vision of St. Fursey, in which any reader could observe the similarity of the Divine Comedy to that work. So interesting a discovery evoked no notice in England, but was received in France as a revelation of great importance. An essay was published by M. Labitte in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1843, entitled, "La Divine Comedie avant Dante," wherein he alludes to the Celtic authors who had written before Dante on Hell, Purgatory and Paradise, and two years later appeared Ozanem's "Sources Poetiques de la Divine Comedie," in which great stress is laid on the visions of St. Fursey and Tundale. It may perhaps be put down as one of "the curiosities of literature" that Mr. Cary should be so obstinate (in all his editions) in favour of Alberico, and that the countrymen of

Dante should be labouring so strenuously to show that he derived his ideas from Ireland.

For the purpose, however, of the present writer it is not sufficient to show that St. Fursey's "Vision of Hell, Purgatory and Paradise," was written 500 years before Dante was born, or that Dante's great poem follows the same broad outlines. It is essential to establish that Dante had occasion to see St. Fursey's work, and that in some passages (as well as in the general scheme) there is a marked resemblance. It is the pious belief of educated Englishmen that Dante studied for a time at Oxford, and only a year ago the letters published in the *Times* on this subject, also two studies of Dante by Dean Plumptre in the *Contemporary*, seemed fully to justify such belief. In the great poet's time Italian literature was just emerging from the gloom of the dark ages; there seemed to have been few vestiges of the early writers of Italy, therefore the great master mind in his many wanderings made extensive acquaintance with the writings of other lands, collected them with reverential sympathy, and "boldly considered they were his by right of conquest." Either at Oxford or elsewhere he conceived a singular affection for the life and writings of the Venerable Bede (whom he places in Paradise, canto x. line 130), and as the whole of St. Fursey's vision is recounted in his life by Bede (*vita Furs.*) it is reasonable to suppose that it was read by Dante. But if the learned commentators say that Dante's studies at Oxford must be a question open to doubt, there is still every motive to suppose that he read Bede's works in Italy or Paris, or that he saw one or other copy of St. Fursey's life and vision, in that age to be found in every library of Europe. The learned Canon O'Hanlon, in his "Lives of the Irish Saints," shows that few saints were held in greater renown and reverence during the Middle Ages, that a list of the lives of St. Fursey would fill a volume, and that many passages of the Divine Comedy closely resemble parts of the vision of that saint as related by Bede.

It cannot fail to be interesting to give a short sketch of St. Fursey. He was born in the sixth century, of royal blood on both sides, being the son of Fuiloga, the King of Munster: his mother was Gelges, daughter of Aedfind, King of Connaught. Aedfind was so displeased with his daughter's marriage that

she fled with her husband, and took refuge with his uncle, St. Brendan, who then resided in his monastery of Clonfert (Cluamfort). When their child was born the famous St. Brendan baptised him under the name of Furseus. From his earliest years his great sanctity manifested itself, and by the advice of St. Brendan he retired to and built a monastery near Lough Obsen. The present old church of Kilfursa on the banks of Lough Corrib is supposed to represent it. He is well known in history as the patron saint of Peronne in France, and was canonised in 655. King Louis of France on his return from the first Crusade assisted at the translation of St. Furseus's body from the old shrine to the new one prepared for it in the church of Peronne, as Miss Stokes mentions in her delightful book, "Three Months in the Forests of France."

Ugo Foscolo, one of the most distinguished of Italian critics, asserts in an essay on Dante in the *Edinburgh Review* (1818) that the Divine Comedy owes less to Fra Alberico than to an English monk, unnamed, mentioned by Mathew Paris. This unnamed monk was manifestly St. Furseus, who lived for some years in England, and was for this reason called English. He founded the monastery of Burghcastle in the county of Suffolk, which was formerly called Cuobhersberg. It is remarkable that the learned historian Milman speaks of him as "the French monk St. Furseus," for a similar reason, because of his long residence in France, and the fact that he is patron saint of the diocese of Peronne.

In the *Acta Sanctorum* we read that before leaving his monastery at Lough Corrib St. Furseus fell ill, and had very extraordinary visions, which are related at great length in some of his acts. These represented the state of man in sin, some remedies for sin, as also those virtues which are particularly pleasing in God's sight. On recovering from his first ecstasy he informed the monks of what had been revealed to him. In the first place, no sooner had he ceased to feel pulsation than he found himself surrounded by shadows of deep and horrible obscurity :

Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura.

Then two angels, having white wings, supported him with their hands. On account of dazzling brightness he could not

see their bodies, which were covered with wings. Like the prophet Ezechiel's apparition two of these wings extended towards the heavens, while two wings covered their bodies. Fursey saw a third angel, armed with a white shield and burnished sword, proceeding through the air. A most fragrant odour had been diffused over every place where they went. While bearing the saint through a dense atmospheric darkness, they chanted with voices of inexpressible harmony.

With reference to this Dante has the following

With the song

My spirit reeled, so passing sweet the strain.*

On recovering his senses St. Fursey explained to the monks that the darkness through which he had been conducted signified the world overshadowed by original sin. The three angels, whose faces and voices were undistinguishable, represented the Blessed Trinity, and it is very remarkable that Dante ends the "Divina Commedia" with a vision of the most Holy Trinity:

In that abyss
Of radiance, clear and lofty, seem'd,
Methought
Three orbs of triple hue, clipt in one bound.
And, from another, one reflected seem'd
As rainbow is from rainbow, and the third
Seem'd fire, breathed equally from both.†

In another part of the vision the angel bore St. Fursey aloft, until he saw neither roof nor house. But on his passage, he heard demoniac clamour and howling. In Longfellow's translation we find the following:

And now begin the dolesome notes to grow
Audible to me,
The infernal hurricane that never rests
Hurtles the spirits onward in its rapine.
* * * * *
There are the shrieks, the plaints,
And the laments.‡

* Cary's translation, "Il Paradiso," canto xxvii. 3.

† *Ibid.* xxxiii.

‡ "Inferno," canto v.

St. Fursey saw a black cloud, and an army of demons appeared before him. The bodies of these demons appeared utterly deformed and black, with necks of squalid leanness and horrid shape, extended, their heads being unnaturally swollen,

As the dark pepper grain livid and swart,*
As on them more direct mine eye descends,
Each wondrously seem'd to be reversed
At the neckbone.†

But when they flew along or fought, the Saint only saw a shadowy representation of deformed bodies :

There
Was less than day and less than night,
That far
Mine eye advanced not.‡

Another parallel passage occurs in "Il Purgatorio," canto xix. 121-124, where the Angel tells St. Fursey, "These souls are suffering for the sins of Avarice." Comparing which we find in Dante :

As avarice quenched our love
Of good,
Here justice holds us prison'd hand and foot.

And again, at line 115 :

Such cleansing from the sins of Avarice
Do spirits, converted, need.

Further on the Angel shows the Saint the souls burning for sins of injustice to one's neighbour, Dante observing on this subject as follows :

Fraud, that in every conscience leaves a sting.§

St. Fursey describes himself surrounded by a light of astonishing brightness, and Dante, in canto xxviii. of the Paradise, says :

* Cary's "Inferno," canto xxv. p. 75.

† *Ibid.* canto xx. pp. 10, 11.

‡ *Ibid.* canto xxxi. pp. 10, 11.

§ "L'Inferno," canto xi.

That darted light
 So sharp, no lid, unclosing, may bear up.
 Against its keenness.*

Longfellow translates the lines thus :

That was raying out
 Light so acute, the sight which it enkindles
 Must close perforce before such great acuteness.

Then St. Fursey noticed a great serenity in the surrounding atmosphere, and Dante likewise says,

The firmament looks forth serene and smiles.†

A multitude of Angels sang

Sanctus Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth.

And Dante's opening line of the seventh canto of "Il Paradiso" is

Osanna Deus Sabaoth.

St. Fursey's mind becoming thenceforward oblivious of all his previous anxieties and sufferings he was filled with ineffable joy. We find again in the "Divina Commedia,"

All the vision dies,
 As 'twere away. And yet the sense of sweet
 That sprang from it, still trickles in my heart.‡

It is also remarkable that while Dante meets many people whom he knew in this world, so likewise St. Fursey converses with two of his own countrymen, Saints Beon and Meldan.

When Ferrario wrote his "History of Chivalry and Romance," about the year 1820, he asserted that Dante took his plan of the "Divina Commedia" from Andreas' Life of the "Magnifico Cavaliere Guerino," who descended into Purgatory at Lough Derg in Ireland. The pious legend connected with St. Patrick's Purgatory had previously gone round Europe, and appeared under numerous editions in all languages. One in Spanish had given rise to Calderon's drama of "El Purgatorio de San

* Cary's translation.

† *Ibid.* "Il Paradiso," canto xxviii.

‡ *Ibid.* canto xxxiii.

Patricio." This subject has been treated at great length by Wright and other writers, but as it would make this article too diffuse to dwell upon this point

Non ragionam di lor, ma guarda e passa.

We now come to the famous legend of Tundale or Tyndale, by some also written Tugdale, which existed in Latin 150 years before the date that Dante gives as that in which he commenced his poem. There is nothing by which an idea may be formed, even approximately, of the age in which Tugdale lived. It is only known that the earliest translation recorded is that done by Marco into Latin from the original (Irish) tongue, at the request of Abbess Gertrude, A.D. 1149, being an account of the vision of "*quidem Hibernigenus Tundalus*." That this vision had become celebrated all over Europe before Dante's time is evident from the fact that the Royal Library at Copenhagen contains a Danish translation from the Latin text of Marco, made by order of King Hako IV. (killed in an invasion of Scotland, A.D. 1263) whose death occurred twenty-two years before Dante was born. Also some fragments of a German version, supposed to have been made between 1180 and 1200, are found in the Royal Library of Berlin, which were reproduced by Lochman in 1836. Corazzini gives in his preface a list of more than twenty different versions of Tundale, in nine languages, one of the latest being that in Spanish by Ramon Petras (Toledo, 1526). In all editions the poem is preceded by a sketch of Ireland and of the author, beginning thus :

Ireland is a pleasant and fertile island, flowing with milk and honey, free from all manner of snakes. Some of the people are famous for sanctity, others for their cruelty in warfare. There are thirty-four cities, of which Armagh in the north and Cashel in the south are the principal. Tundalus was a native of Cashel, of princely lineage, a soldier by profession, cruel to the poor, and a scoffer at all things sacred.

In none of the editions is there any mention of Marco, whose Latin text is the earliest version of any kind in which the poem is to be found. For this reason Mussafia seems to say that Tundalus never existed, and that Marco, in the year 1149 having invented the vision himself, either wrote it off

in Latin at once for Abbess Gertrude, or first made a version in Irish which he then translated into Latin.

Dal che risulta che l'autore della legenda è Marco, il quale la narrazione Irlandese scrisse, o immediatamente in Latino o prima nell'idioma barbarico, poi in servizio della badessa in Latino.

Tundale's legend, in the same order as Dante, treats of Hell, Purgatory and Paradise, and it is to this poem rather than to St. Fursey's vision that Mussafia and Corazzini emphatically assign the origin of Dante's "*Divina Commedia*." Some of the parallel passages are very striking, and these made such impression on Mussafia that before his death he expressed the wish that some Italian writer would investigate the subject and vindicate the right of the Irish monk Marco, or of his hero Tundale, as inspirer of Dante and progenitor of the greatest poem that mankind has seen produced since the days of Homer. To carry out his countryman's dying request, Corazzini has published the little book which contains the reasons for maintaining that Dante drew from Celtic sources the plan, method, and some of the details of the "*Divina Commedia*." Whether he took them in the first instance from St. Fursey, or as Mussafia supposes from Tundale, it matters little, since Tundale was in a manner a pupil of St. Fursey or at least an imitator, as regards his "*Vision of Hell, Purgatory and Heaven*." The following are some of the parallel passages that occur in Tundale and the *Divine Comedy*. The angel led Tundale to a great stormy lake full of monsters. Here we have in Dante :

And we in company
 Entered, though by a different track, beneath
 Into a lake
 Intent I stood
 To gaze, and in the marish sunk descried
 A miry tribe, all naked, and with looks
 Betokening rage.

These were the souls suffering from the sins of anger. The angel and Tundale then came to a long narrow bridge over a boiling lake planted all over with long sharp spikes, which pierced through the feet of the thieves and barterers who attempted to pass. Dante in the eighth circle of the "*Inferno*"

looks down from a bridge that passes over its fifth gulf on the thieves and barterers. In one part of his vision Tundale arrived at a great and horrible hill, where devils with hot iron hooks were tossing the souls of deceitful and treacherous people alternatively into fire and ice. It is very remarkable that Dante in the last canto of the "*Inferno*" covers up in ice those who have betrayed their benefactors. Tundale speaks of a terrible beast called Acheron, which swallowed multitudes of avaricious and greedy souls. Dante speaks of the monster Geryon, which he calls

That image vile of fraud.*

Like Dante, Tundale meets many people that he had known, particularly Kings Concobar and Donatus, and his own King Cormack, who was obliged to suffer punishment for certain sins once a year. There is every reason to suppose that Tundale derived some of his ideas from St. Fursey's visions, and here it may be observed that the earliest edition of Tundale bears date 1149—that is, four hundred years after the publication of St. Fursey's vision by the Venerable Bede.

When the traveller sees for the first time a vast lake in an unknown country, he naturally seeks the sources from which it is formed, without losing sight of the perfect beauty of the lake created by the great master mind of Nature. He never thinks of depreciating the lake because innumerable little streams trickle into its basin. He wishes, on the contrary, to see where it all leads to. And so it is with the "*Divina Commedia*." "The power of genius is increased by the abundance of the fuel that supplies it."

MARION MULHALL.

* Canto xvii., Cary's translation.

ART. IX.—THE ORANGE CONSPIRACY OF 1688.

WHEN Charles II. was welcomed back to the throne of his fathers with such an outburst of joy and loyalty as never thrilled through England before nor after, not the least confident hopes of that bright Maytime were the hopes of the Catholics, crushed almost out of being under the iron heel of Cromwell. The winter of tyranny was over. The voice of spring had rung from Breda in the royal proclamation, promising "liberty to tender consciences, and that no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom:" promising also the royal assent to "such Acts of Parliament as should be offered for the full granting of that indulgence."

The young king had promised more than he was allowed to perform. Easy himself in religious matters, and tolerant as all the Stuarts were—for the charge of religious tyranny brought against them was a mere red herring, dragged over the trail of treason, to divert public suspicion from discovering intolerance in the creed built up to protest against intolerance—he was met by a fierce and firm resistance on which he had not reckoned. Toleration was the last thing anybody wanted. Anglicans were all for torturing and banishing Anabaptists and Independents; Covenanters saw in "indulged" Presbyterians as black marks of Popery as in Prelacy itself. Charles yielded to his advisers and the will of the majority, and the Declaration was followed by the Act of Uniformity. Charles was at heart a Catholic, but far more deeply at heart than any religious conviction lay his resolve "not to be sent on his travels again." Truly the king "who never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one"—"Because my words are my own and my actions are my ministers," laughed Charles.

So for thirteen years the condition and prospects of Catholics could give no serious alarm to Protestantism. The king might live on terms of sympathetic friendship with his near

relative Louis XIV., but he was politically allied, off and on, with Protestant Powers. His Catholic queen was childless. Next to the throne stood his brother James, Duke of York, for some years a staunch Protestant; popular with the nation as a brave and victorious commander at sea; while his strict attention to duty and his aptitude for business contrasted favourably with the king's indolence. Then in 1672 his first wife, Anne Hyde, died a Catholic, and it was observed that in spite of the king's entreaties the Duke of York ceased to receive the sacrament of the Anglican Church.

On September 30, 1673, he married the young Princess Mary Beatrice of Modena, and shortly afterwards the Test Act compelled him to declare himself a Catholic and lay down his offices. Then the flames of religious fury burst forth. The Duke of York must be excluded from the succession.

His two surviving daughters, Mary and Anne, remained Protestants, but they were almost children, and might presently follow the example of their parents. It was strongly against the Duke's will that they attended the Protestant services, though he made no attempt to have them educated in his own faith, simply because had he done so they would have been taken from him. He refused, however, to consent to the Princess Mary's confirmation in the Church of England. The Protestant Bishop appealed to the King, who commanded the confirmation to take place. As it could not be helped, James preferred that it should be done by order of the King rather than by the authority of the Bishop.*

Now, a son might be born to the Duke of York and brought up a Catholic, and the two Protestant princesses be thrust out of their present places in the succession. It behoved the Protestant party to find a direct Protestant heir to Charles II.

The unscrupulous Shaftesbury forthwith suggested as that *deus ex machinâ*, James, Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch, eldest illegitimate son of the king. He was a Protestant, beautiful to behold, with a brilliant military reputation, and immensely popular. He was born in Holland during the king's exile. Charles' passionate affection for his son was well known. He was granted all the privilege and precedence

* "Mémoires de Jacques II."

at Court of a prince of the blood.* As a boy, he was invited to put on his hat in the Presence Chamber when the greatest peers of England stood by uncovered. He mourned ceremonially for foreign princes in the long purple cloak permitted to no one else but to the Duke York and Prince Rupert. What if the king had again and again denied, formally to his ministers, and confidentially to his son, that there had never been any sort of marriage between himself and Monmouth's mother, Lucy Barlow or Walters? that when Shaftesbury "once had the impudence to come near proposing it to him"—the recognition of Monmouth as his legitimate son—"he told him he could never be so base as to think of any such thing, and that he had rather see James, meaning Monmouth, hanged up at Tyburn than have any such thoughts"?† Shaftesbury nevertheless declared that the marriage contract was concealed somewhere in a black box. Had not Lucy Barlow called herself the king's wife? It served the purpose of many powerful persons to believe the story, and Monmouth himself took very kindly to the greatness thrust upon him.

But there stood upon the steps of the throne a personage far more formidable to James' interests than the fascinating butterfly, Monmouth. In 1677, William, Prince of Orange, the king's nephew, who had waded through the blood of the two De Witts‡ to the Stadtholdership of the Netherlands and leadership of continental Protestantism, came over to England and insisted upon marrying the Princess Mary of York; in the teeth of opposition, not only from her father but from the king, who was averse from such close alliance with the inveterate enemy of his friend Louis XIV. William had once, it is true, refused the proffered hand of his cousin, but seeing in her now the heiress-presumptive of England, he changed his mind. The young Duchess of York had as yet given birth only to two little girls, the elder of whom lived only nine months. James had thus lost seven out of ten children, all in infancy, and though the Duchess was again expecting to become a mother, it was eagerly taken for granted that no future child of theirs would live to inherit the crown.

* Pepys' "Diary."

† "Life of James II." by Himself. Macpherson.

‡ See Macaulay, vol. ii., who does not attempt to clear William of the murders. See also Von Ranke.

William was anxious also to form a political alliance with his uncle. Charles was compelled to assent to this project, but was for business first, marriage afterwards. William was determined upon marriage first, business afterwards, and had his way. The marriage, so doubly ill-fated, took place on November 4, 1677. The Duchess of York was so near her confinement that King Charles sarcastically bade the bishops hurry up "lest his sister should be brought to bed of a boy and spoil the marriage."

The portraits of Mary by pencil and pen exhibit a curious set of apparent contradictions. The pictures show us a tall, handsome woman of decided character and strength of mind. Her friends describe her as a sincerely pious princess. The self-revelations of her memoirs read like the confessions of a morbid saint. Yet Evelyn and the Duchess of Marlborough were shocked by her unfilial exultation over her father's downfall, which betokened a shallow heart and a silly head. The fact is, hers was a most unhappy marriage. William from the first set himself to crush the spirit and natural home affections of his young wife with the merciless brutality of a Jonas Chuzzlewit. He took her lady-in-waiting, Elizabeth Villiers, for his mistress, in spite of Mary's passionate grief and her outraged Puritan conscience. He commanded her to look happy and cheerful when she returned to England, lest people should say she disapproved of his usurpation of the throne. The poor frightened Princess, highly strung like all the Stuarts, grieving for the homely life and sufficient dignity of The Hague, overdid the part of happy wife triumphing in her husband's success. What wonder that, in her loneliness and sadness, she turned for comfort to her four services a day, and learned to see right and duty solely in her master's decrees? *

William was religious only in a political sense. He was ruthlessly ambitious, coldly unscrupulous, as hard as iron in spirit and purpose, crippled by the smallness of his resources from successfully contesting against the overwhelming power of Louis XIV. He stood next in the succession after the York

* "Memoirs of Mary, 'Queen of England,'" Döbner; "Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough;" Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 292.

princesses, Mary, Anne, and Isabella, but it did not suit his schemes to wait on chance. As consort of an English Queen Regnant, if no more—his military power and prestige and his finances would be enormously increased.

Three days after the wedding, a prince was born, "little, but sprightly, and likely to live." To the overwhelming grief of his parents he died five weeks later, under circumstances which might, undoubtedly, have been deemed suspicious had interested persons chosen to find them so. The Princess Anne, who had an almost equal interest with her sister in the succession, so long as the latter remained childless, fell ill with small-pox. Four weeks after her little brother's birth, she was allowed to leave the house for the first time, and went straight-way to visit the Duchess of York and her infant. "A sort of eruption" broke out upon the child. The nurse tried to force it back, with the consequence that the prince died in convulsions on December 12. The consequent autopsy contradicted the opinion, fathered by malevolent wish, that the Duke of York's children could never be healthy, for the child's organs were discovered to be all perfectly sound, so that there was every reason to have expected a long life for him.* When it is remembered how prevalent, how infectious, and how dangerous small-pox was in those ante-vaccination days, one cannot but blame the Princess Anne for the culpable imprudence, if no more, which replaced her in the position of heiress presumptive.

Opposition against the Duke of York's succession still alternately seethed and raged. The Test Act had been passed, in 1673, for the purpose of disqualifying him for holding any responsible position in the State, but the treaty of alliance between Louis XIV. and Charles II., signed at Dover 1677, and the peace of Nimeguen signed in 1678, which made the English king's Catholic ally master of Europe, and Charles independent of parliamentary control by subsidy, stirred the restless fears of the Protestants to frantic terror of Catholic ascendancy. Their agent, Titus Oates, "discovered" in an ordinary congregation of the Jesuits at the Duke of York's house, a secret meeting to plan the assassination of the king and the re-establishment of

* See "Les Derniers Stuarts," Campana de Cavelli. Letters from Barillon and Terriesi, Ambassadors from France and Tuscany.

Popery under his brother James. It was nothing that Oates was a man whose well-known record completely discredited him as a witness; it was nothing that the witnesses gathered together to swear away the lives of Roman Catholics were the very refuse of London.* The innocent blood of five Jesuits was shed to appease the fury of the credulous and frightened people; the Duke of York was banished to Brussels, and a newly elected Parliament clamoured more loudly than ever for his exclusion from the succession.

One friend stood faithfully by James in England—the king, whose affection for and confidence in his brother, remained unshaken by either calumny or self-interest. He offered the Protestants any security they demanded for their religion, save a change in the lawful order of succession. They insisted upon exclusion, and refused to accept any other safeguard. So the king prorogued and then dissolved the Parliament.

The ensuing election sent to Westminster only a band of still more determined Exclusionists. The Duke of York vainly entreated leave to return “to face the music,” and look after his own interests. Public sympathy, now revolting against the baseness which had exploited the clumsy fraud of the Mealtub Plot, was turning to the natural heir of the Crown. But the king dared not summon him in defiance of Essex, Halifax, and Sunderland, who, with the Duchess of Portsmouth, were committed to the Exclusion Bill,† though they were opposed to Shaftesbury’s plan of substituting Monmouth for the king’s brother. The Duchess is said by many contemporary authorities to have suggested her own son, the Duke of Richmond, as a postulant Prince of Wales.

Monmouth, however, was the darling of the Protestant party, and continued to pose as the real Protestant prince defrauded of his birthright by his bigoted and unnatural uncle. James was grave and reserved, but Monmouth was winsome and free. His flagrant immoralities were easily condoned by the party of religion, pure and undefiled. His health was toasted in his presence as Prince of Wales.‡ He erased

* Macaulay, vol. i. p. 230.

† “*Mémoires de Jacques II.*,” tome ii. p. 227.

‡ *Ibid.*

the word "natural" from his commission as captain-general. He displayed his coat-of-arms, undebrued by baton, over his splendid mansion on the south side of what is now called Soho Square.* He made royal progresses through the country, touched for the king's evil, played with the people in public sports, stood godfather to plebeian Protestant babies; and so stole the hearts of the English Protestants as Absalom stole the hearts of the men of Israel.

The Duke of York indignantly protested against these proceedings. Charles, half amused at his darling's treasons, sent him to Scotland to put down the Covenanters, then in armed rebellion; a command which should of right have been given to the Duke of York.†

On August 22, the king fell seriously ill at Windsor. He sent an express to summon his brother, but charged James to give out that he came on his own initiative.‡ This occurrence entirely disconcerted Monmouth's plans and hopes. The king recovered, but under pressure from his counsellors, he was compelled to command his brother's return to Brussels. Monmouth was banished to Holland as a guarantee that no injury should come to James from that quarter during his absence.

The Prince and Princess of Orange received Monmouth with a show of coldness. They had watched his proceedings with mixed feelings; though they could not have looked upon the son of Lucy Barlow as a serious rival, as Macaulay asserts was the case. Now they had him under immediate personal influence, and certainly from this time forward they were fast friends. That William had intrigued for years in English politics is common history. He had as agents in England in 1674, Frymans, a Dutchman, and William Howard, M.P. for Winchelsea, afterwards Lord Howard, of Escrick.§ He had all along been secretly inspiring and supporting the Exclusionists;|| but he had no intention of allowing his own and his wife's interests to be injured by Monmouth's absurd pretensions. He had used him to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for himself, as under the mask of shocked disappointment he was to use him again.

* Then the King's Square in Soho Fields, and presently Monmouth Square.

† "Mémoires de Jacques II."

‡ *Ibid.*

§ "Lingard," vol. ix.

|| *Ibid.*

James was always his brother's loyal and obedient subject, and he obeyed again with no more than a protest "at those insupportable changes of resolution, and the fatigue of those continual journeys to be sent like a vagabond about the world at the bidding of a few timorous politicians," moved by the hands of William and Monmouth. In the following October, the king consented that he should at least live within his dominions, and he was sent to Scotland as High Commissioner.

The Exclusion Bill was brought forward again in November 1680. It passed the Commons but was lost in the Lords: to the undying honour of the Anglican bishops, whose solid vote for the rightful heir, whatever might be his creed, made the victorious majority. The ultra-Protestant party, in lampoons and scurrilous songs, demanded of the nation "to throw out the Bishops who threw out the Bill." To appease their wrath, more innocent blood was shed. The venerable Lord Stafford was led to the block, accused of a share in the Meal-tub Plot, Monmouth, in defiance of the king, returned to England and again posed as his father's heir, and his champion and protector against the fratricidal schemes of the Duke of York.

In 1682, after a popular and successful viceroyalty, the Duke of York was recalled from Scotland. During their exile the hearts of the royal parents had been farther saddened by the death, in her fifth year, of the Princess Isabella whom they had been compelled to leave behind them at St. James'. They were welcomed home with demonstrations of sincere joy: with odes of loyal rapture addressed to the lovely Duchess, who once more had hopes of providing the nation with a Catholic king.

The Orange party were frantic. For more than four years they had hugged the hope that the death of the little Duke of Cambridge had ensured the succession to the Protestant princesses. Now they met the promise of another royal baby with loud assertions that a spurious child was to be imposed upon them. Scurrilous squibs and pasquils flooded the country. Every action of the royal parents was forced into proof of the current calumnies. The Duchess was nervous and sent for her mother. The Orange party at once discovered that the

Duchess of Modena had come to work the trick : to provide a son, should a daughter, or no child at all be born. The child was born prematurely, three days after the Duchess's arrival ; so unexpectedly that no witnesses could be summoned in time. There was excellent opportunity for a fraud ; but as the child was a girl, it was nobody's interest to disbelieve in her. The proofs of her impossibility were forgotten ; or rather, were put by for the next occasion.

In the *Observer*, No. 194, printed Wednesday, August 23, 1682, a week after the child's birth, is the following remarkable passage, written, according to Mackintosh, by l'Estrange :

If it had pleased God to give His Royal Highness the blessing of a *son*, as it proved, a *daughter*, you were prepared to make a *Perkin* of him. To what end did you take so much pains, else, by your instruments and intelligences to hammer it into the people's heads that the Duchess of York was *not* with child ? And so, in case of a son, to represent him as an *impostor* ; whereas you have now taken off the mask in confessing the daughter. I would have the impression of this cheat sink so far in the heads and hearts of all honest men, as never to be defaced or forgotten. For we must expect that the same plan shall, at any time hereafter, be trumped up again upon the like occasion.*

This little Princess, Charlotte Maria, died eight weeks after her birth. Time went on, and the Duke and Duchess of York remained childless. The Duke was not only beloved and trusted by the king, but reinstated, regardless of Tests, in his old office of Lord High Admiral. In spite of the conviction of his enemies that he would have no more children, especially no more sons, they went on conspiring to procure his exclusion. Hopeless of parliamentary success, they turned to the simpler but more effectual method of assassination. The Rye-house Plot failed ; Sidney and Russell went to the block. Monmouth who was as deeply concerned in it as they, gave up the name of his accomplices and was forgiven by the too indulgent father against whose life, as well as his brother's, the Rye-house Plot was directed. Monmouth was banished to Holland, where he was petted and fêted by the Prince and Princess of Orange, "to please King Charles," says Macaulay. Charles certainly sent affectionate letters and supplies to his

* Dalrymple's "Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland," Appendix.

prodigal and refused to hear a word said against him ; but a loyal and loving nephew and niece were hardly likely to seek his favour by treating as an honoured guest the man who had attempted his assassination, to say nothing of that of the princess' father. Monmouth would be wanted again. So the butcher fattened the lamb for the slaughter required for his own feast.

On February 6, 1685, Charles II. died unexpectedly of apoplexy, and the Duke of York succeeded. The Prince of Orange did not at once and publicly claim the crown, but lay low. The nation's temper must first be tried. Simultaneous risings in England and Scotland were agreed upon. Argyle landed in Scotland in the name of Protestantism, was taken prisoner and executed. Monmouth landed at Lyme. He called himself Captain-General of the English Protestants, in arms against tyranny and popery, having promised the Prince of Orange not to proclaim himself King of England. Whether William exacted the promise in sincerity or not matters little. The Parliament of England could be trusted to refuse the crown to the son of Lucy Barlow, while the assumption of sovereignty would serve to clear a rival out of the way,

Monmouth was received by the common people with the wildest enthusiasm, as the Protestant saviour. They crowded to his blue standard. The maidens of Taunton presented him with a royal banner worked by their own hands, and the Bible, which he declared he had come to defend, and to die for if he must. He issued an exhaustive manifesto, which accused the king of regicide, fratricide, and incendiarism,* besides tyranny and popery. He threw plenty of mud and it all stuck. On June 20 he was persuaded to proclaim himself king. From the moment of this proclamation, says Macaulay, he fell into profound depression. He might dare to defy the king with the Prince of Orange behind him, but this was defiance of the Prince and Princess of Orange. He met the royal forces at Sedgmoor, was defeated, taken prisoner, and executed.

The Protestants now tried a new tack. When James came to the throne he was sincerely anxious to reform the Court, which under Charles II. had been a crying scandal for its

* Of burning London in 1666.

unblushing immorality. As earnest of his resolution, he dismissed his latest mistress, the witty Catherine Sedley. She was a Protestant, and her co-religionists were filled with consternation at the step. Though her wit was often pointed against his religion, it fascinated the king. Because it was pointed against his religion, the Protestants fondly hoped it would laugh it away. By accident or design, Catherine was thrown again into the way of the too tender-hearted king and she wheedled him into taking her back to favour for a time.

The king's brother-in-law, Hyde, Earl of Rochester, the head of the Church of England party, assiduously encouraged the revived intrigue, assisted by his wife. The king seemed very indifferent; the countess' patent with which he presented Catherine, at Rochester's initiative, was possibly to pacify her for his coldness and his anxiety to be "out of it" again. Rochester had watched power pass through the hands of courtesans at Whitehall and Versailles, and believing that a mistress must always be more powerful than a queen, he purposed to rule king and state through Catherine Sedley, against the queen and the Catholics. But this king had a conscience, and all the pressure of his young wife's tears and the anger of the Church was brought to bear upon it, and the new Countess of Dorchester was presently banished to Ireland.

James seemed now to be firmly settled upon his throne. Monmouth was gone, and though the Prince of Orange went on busily intriguing, the king was popular on the whole. There has always been a deep-seated love for hereditary right in the heart of the British nation. Though it has once or twice seemed good to us to choose a younger branch of the royal house to wear our ancient crown, we have never placed it on the head of an alien, not of the blood. The whole nation rejoiced at the blending of the White Rose with the Red. Not a voice in all Protestant London, "first-born of the Reformation,"* was raised to bless the proclamation of Lady Jane Grey, while the citizens shouted themselves hoarse over the victorious entry of Henry VIII.'s Catholic daughter. The "auld enemy" hailed with rapturous joy the accession of the uncouth Scottish king, whose birthright, unlike his predecessor's,

* Frude.

was beyond all possible contention. The best and bravest blood of the islands was poured out like water for his descendants. So England loyally submitted to her native prince, much as she might regret his religion, and he unfortunately underestimated the national horror of "Popery"—that it was a living though latent force, stronger than the national spirit of loyalty to the lawful king.

Though James believed with all his heart that God had revealed one truth to the world and that it was his duty to stand by it to the uttermost, he was no persecutor. His memory has long been cleared from the charges of cruelty brought against his administration in Scotland.* He forced his religion on no man, though he was an ardent and persevering proselytiser amongst his friends. No charge brought against him is more false than the charge of bigotry. His tolerant spirit was two centuries before his time. The Declaration of Indulgence issued on April 4, 1687, included in its mercy all the ruthlessly persecuted Protestant dissenters. As two consistent, earnest, and honourable men, he and William Penn the Quaker, mutually respected each other. That stern Puritan, Evelyn, bears witness to the king's high character. He insisted upon the baptism of the negroes upon the American plantations, a sacrament withheld by their Protestant masters lest it should carry legal with spiritual freedom. A tiny sect calling itself the "Family of Love," formally thanked him for his beneficent toleration.† As for the charge of superstition, he declared himself extremely sceptical on the subject of miracles, fearing imposture, but was quite up to present date in the deep interest he took in psychical problems, such as Highland second-sight.‡

But the Orange party cared for none of these things, and the people at large knew nothing of them. What they did hear incessantly repeated, and conspicuously see, was that the king publicly attended mass. He sent Lord Castlemaine as ambassador to Rome, though any dealing with the Pope was by law high treason. He received at Windsor, with elaborate pomp and an excessive reverence that provoked even the Spanish

* See Strickland, "Queens of England," vol. vi.

† Evelyn's "Diary," i. p. 268.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

ambassador to sarcasm, a Papal Nuncio; the newly-consecrated Archbishop of Amasia, who had been well known as Count Adda, a man of pleasure about the Court in secular dress.* Catholics were appointed to high political and academical posts, though the Test Act stood unrepealed. James acted here undoubtedly within his right, the Crown holding the power of dispensation. He presented the deanery of Christchurch to Massey, a recent convert, and attempted to place another over the Charterhouse. He sent a mandate to Cambridge University to confer the M.A. degree upon Alban Francis, a Benedictine monk, which mandate the shocked authorities refused to obey, though they had given the degree a few months before to a Mahometan, the Secretary to the Emperor of Morocco. The Vice-Chancellor was therefore deprived and suspended from the Mastership of his College during the royal pleasure. Four Catholic bishops were publicly consecrated in the Chapel Royal, and sent to English dioceses as vicars apostolic.† Priests and religious were seen at Court in their cassocks and habits. Ronquillo, the Spanish ambassador, warned James that he was going too fast, but Father Edward Petre, of the Society of Jesus, one of the king's chief advisers, was all for pushing matters. James scorned compromise, and issued a mandate to Magdalen, Oxford, to elect as President, one Farmer, who had promised to become a Catholic. This mandate also was disobeyed.

But the king had still no children save the two daughters, who were bound to destroy his best laid plans for the advancement of religion. The queen was in wretched health; every winter was expected by her physicians to be her last. In 1683 she had a serious miscarriage. The Princess of Orange was childless, but the Princess Anne had been married in 1684 to Prince George of Denmark, and had children in rapid succession, though none had as yet long survived their birth.

In 1687, when the queen was nine-and-twenty years old, there was a great consultation of the royal physicians, and she was sent to Bath, where, after bathing and drinking the waters, she entirely recovered her health. The Cross Bath still commemorates by its name her successful visit, though the angel

* Dalrymple, Appendix.† *Ibid.*

and cross carved over the healing waters disappeared under the hands of those who saw anything but cause for thanksgiving in their efficacy.

In November it was reported that the queen was pregnant. In January the fact was officially announced, and thanksgivings with prayers for her safety were commanded in all churches. The passions stirred by the news were beyond description.* The king and the Catholics, with all too loud exultation, hailed the coming birth as miraculous, and unwisely proclaimed their certainty that the child would be a prince. Had not the king, upon leaving the queen at Bath, made a pilgrimage to St. Winifred's Well to entreat the intercession of that miracle-working virgin? Had not the recently-deceased Duchess of Modena made a pilgrimage to Loreto with the same intention? The Protestants received the news with a storm of angry incredulity and ribald mockery. Did not the Catholics themselves admit the birth to be against nature by calling it miraculous, while they announced that a prince would of certainty be born? It was impossible that another child could be born to the king and queen, they cried here; if a child is born it will be a girl and they will substitute a boy, they cried there. The Catholics, also excited past consistency, betrayed themselves as less certain than they professed to be, by attempting to claim for a daughter born to the reigning king precedence in the succession over daughters born to the Duke of York.

There was no reason why the birth of a Prince of Wales should be either fraudulent or miraculous. The king was only fifty-five; though he had lost so many children, his surviving daughters were hale and hearty women. His six illegitimate children lived into robust maturity. The Duke of Berwick, killed by a cannon-ball at sixty-four years of age, was born in the same year with the youngest of Anne Hyde's children, while the Duchess of Buckingham, who lived into old age, was contemporaneous with the Princess Isabella.

But it happened that the steadily-fanned flame of Protestant fear and opposition was excited to fever heat at this juncture against the king and his advisers. These were Lord Sunder-

* "No one who did not see would believe the passions it excited. . . . I cannot express the passion of the Princess of Denmark at the news."—Terriess to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, *ap. Campana*, ii. p. 154.

land, President of the Council, who to gain the king's confidence professed to be upon the point of becoming a Catholic, and Father Petre, who, though an Englishman, seems to have entirely misunderstood the temper of the English people. According to "Dod's Church History" (iii. 691) he was not the king's confessor, that office being held by another Jesuit named Warner. The queen, who was no politician, but only a loving and simple woman, guided by her heart, disliked and distrusted Petre, and warned the king against him; though, because he belonged to the detested Society, his name was coarsely and absurdly coupled with hers in the songs and lampoons that at this time were shouted all over London.

James was not only a fervent Catholic, ready to sacrifice three crowns for his faith, but he came of a race to whom fear was unknown; who had fought for three centuries against ignorance, oppression, aggression, rebellious nobles, and traitorous demagogues, resisting even unto death. As a young soldier, Turenne had said of him, "If there is a man utterly without fear it is the Duke of York." He believed himself to reign by Right Divine; therefore to be directly responsible to God for his stewardship; and he was determined upon ruling according to his conscience at any cost.

Besides the fiercely resented facts recorded above, there was afloat a mass of lies, all greedily devoured without any examination, and however inconsistent one story might be with another; the more improbable, the more easily believed. "Even men of sense and candour," says Barillon, "seem to have lost their superiority of mind in the prejudices of the vulgar."* Tons of scurrilous pamphlets and ribald lampoons were hawked about. The air was thick with the wildest fears and fancies. Every movement of the king and queen, every boast of the Catholics was forced into the service of those who were determined that no child would or could be born.

The king, only too fully aware of the rumours afloat, and of the certain refusal of the Orange party to accept a Prince of Wales, took the utmost pains to provide evidence which must establish the genuineness of his child beyond all possibility of doubt. The queen also knew of the common talk, but she

* Dalrymple, Appendix.

proudly refused to heed it or to satisfy the coarse curiosity of her enemies.* She was seriously ill in May, which in spite of previous pronouncements gave rise to a new story—that then a child was really born, and had died, and that the contemplated fraud must date from that disappointment. She continued in a very precarious state of health, and it was judged best that her confinement should take place at Windsor. It was then represented that Windsor was at an inconvenient distance from town, and that a London palace was more accessible to the necessary witnesses. The queen disliked Whitehall, as “the biggest and most uncomfortable of houses;” it was also noisy and crowded as the residence of the Court. She therefore consented to be confined at St. James’s Palace, where her other children and her husband also had been born. This compliant arrangement disappointed the Princess Anne, who as early as March had confided to her sister of Orange her refusal to believe in the queen’s condition. She wrote now to the Princess Mary of “the great bustle that was made about her lying-in at Windsor, and then resolving all of a sudden to go to St. James’s, which is much the properest place to act such a cheat in.”† There was no pleasing those who were determined upon finding the king and queen guilty of fraud.‡

On April 27 the wrath of the Orange party had been stirred to boiling point by a royal command, which ordered a new and still more liberal Declaration of Indulgence to be read in all churches. Six bishops, increased presently by the adhesion of Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, petitioned against this order, then refused to obey, were summoned before the king in council, persisted in contumacy, and on June 8 were committed to the Tower. Hostility against the king now took the form of furious sympathy with the seven rebellious prelates.

On Trinity Sunday, June 10, 1688, the pealing of bells and thunder of cannon announced to all London, friend and foe, the birth of a Prince of Wales.

Like his preceding sister, he arrived a month before he was

* Letter of the Princess of Denmark to the Princess of Orange.—Dalrymple.

† Dalrymple, Appendix.

‡ “She should have lain-in at Charing Cross to satisfy them.”

due; an accident greedily welcomed by the enemy as proof of their suspicions. The Princess Anne happened to be absent at Tunbridge Wells, to her great vexation, though the king had entreated her to stay in town until the event came off, fully recognising the importance of her evidence. She pleaded the doctor's orders. The king's friends declared she had gone purposely, that the lack of her evidence might damage the child's cause. Her own friends declared that the king had sent her to be out of the way.

The queen had been brought hastily to St. James' from Whitehall the night before. She was taken ill next morning while her Protestant ladies happened to be at church: of set purpose, declared the enemy, though the king at once sent to fetch the ladies, the queen-dowager,* and the Lords of the Privy Council. There were sixty-seven persons present, of whom at least two-thirds were Protestants; but these, says Macaulay, were married or related to Catholics: as if that were quite enough, not only to qualify them for committing a gigantic fraud against the nation, but for keeping so big a secret among so many tongues in so venal an age. Lord Chancellor Jeffreys and eighteen privy councillors stood so close by the bed that the poor queen entreated the king to stoop over her so that he might hide her face with his periwig.

The stories of the asserted imposture are curiously various, yet each was promulgated as proven up to the hilt. The queen was sitting shivering by the bed when the nurse came—in a London June one does too often shiver, though the Protestant party considered it to be so impossible—so a warming-pan was brought to the bed. As it was not opened to display live coals within, of course a child must have been packed inside. When the child was born he was carried into the next room after three Protestant ladies and others had seen him. Therefore there had been a girl born, who was exchanged in the next room for a boy before the eager witnesses had time to follow. The child was extremely delicate, though it was declared that so remarkably fine a child could not be the brother of all those frail dead babies. Many times he was seriously ill. Each of

* "Who never loved me more than she was obliged to do."—"Mémoires de Jacques II."

these illnesses killed off a real but never before acknowledged Prince of Wales, and occasioned the substitution of another baby, so that there was quite a bewildering succession of supposititious babies.

The little prince was privately baptized at his mother's bedside on June 11 by Bishop Leybourne.* He was "ondoyé" only; no name was then given. The queen-dowager held him in her arms. The Papal Nuncio was present. See letter of the Nuncio to the Cardinal Secretary of State, Campana, vol. ii. p. 219; also Barillon to Louis XIV., p. 225.

There were great rejoicings in Rome in honour of his birth for three successive days, inclusive of the Feast of St. James, July 25. Cardinal Howard, of the Order of St. Dominic, celebrated the mass of thanksgiving in the Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury. A fountain surmounted by the crown and arms of England ran with wine for the three days. An ox stuffed with fowls and sucking pigs was roasted whole in the adjoining court of the English College, and the people made the air ring with *vivas* for the new Prince of England. Sir John Lytcott, the King's agent, also roasted oxen and illuminated his palace in the Strada Gregoriana and the whole neighbourhood. He hung over his portals a picture of the royal infant in the robes of the Garter, attended by angels bearing crowns and shields, and the three white plumes; and above all the motto, "Serus redeat."†

The child was at first brought up by hand, it being feared that nursing had not suited the queen's other children, who had all died in convulsions. The miracle of the child's life was that he survived the extraordinary experiments in diet that were practised upon him. At length, having nearly died of diarrhoea at Richmond, to the frantic grief of the king and queen, he was saved by the offices of a tile-maker's wife, who, as a last expedient, was sent for from the village to nurse him.‡ "It is incredible the quantity of matter vomited from that tiny body at the first taste of the milk," writes Terriesi. He had been fed amongst other things on oatmeal and barley

* Barillon to Louis XIV. "Les Derniers Stuarts."

† Somer's Tracts, vol. ix.

‡ Hoffmann to the Emperor, *ap.* Campana di Cavalli; Evelyn's "Diary."

water, currants, and canary wine! He was "named" * publicly on October 15, the Pope and the queen-dowager being his sponsors, but without great solemnity † owing to the disturbed state of public feeling.‡ He received the names of James Francis Edward; the last in honour of the Black Prince, whose great devotion was to the Holy Trinity, on which feast the prince was born. The king chose it also in memory of the Royal Confessor.

In spite of all the king's care, the Prince and Princess of Orange and the Princess Anne refused to believe in the birth of a Prince of Wales.

The mob, wild with enthusiasm over the acquittal of the seven bishops on June 29, swallowed the most preposterous lies that could be invented. "Few reflected how improbable it was that so affectionate a father as the king would injure his daughters by such an imposture." They were frightened by being told that the regiments encamped on Hounslow Heath were for crushing their liberties and religion; that the very fireworks provided to celebrate the prince's birth were for the bombardment of the city, to avenge its rejoicings over the acquittal of the seven bishops.

A long and minute account of the "warming-pan" imposture was written by Fuller, a "notorious impostor, a cheat, and a false accuser." § This was accepted not only by the mob but by Protestants of high standing, such as Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury. ||

No one bore more emphatic and convincing evidence to the prince's authenticity than Sir Godfrey Kneller.

"Vat de devil!" he cried, "it is von lie! I am not of his party, nor shall not be for him. I am satisfied with what de Parliament has done, but I must tell you what I am sure of, and in what I cannot be mistaken. His fader and his moder have sat to me about thirty-six times a-piece,

* "Life of James II.," by himself. Macpherson's Extracts.

† With great pomp, say the hostile accounts, as a direct insult to the Church of England, unmindful of the fact that a Prince of Wales cannot well be received into the Church without some state, and that all Catholic ceremonies are pompous in Protestant eyes.

‡ Hoffmann to the Emperor, Oct. 29.

§ "Journal of the House of Commons," *ap.* Strickland.

|| See Burnet's "History of his own Times;" Burnet's "Proofs of the 'Pretender's' Illegitimacy;" W. Fuller's "Full Demonstration that the Prince of Wales is the Son of Mary Grey," &c. &c.

and I know every line and bit in their faces. . . . I say the child is so like both that there is not a feature in his face but what belongs either to fader or moder. This I am sure of . . . nay, the nails of his fingers are his moder's, de queen that was. Doctor, you may be out in your letters, but I cannot be out in my lines.*

In October the king, with the business-like energy which had always characterised his action in State matters, had the evidence taken of all persons present at the birth—evidence overwhelming for minuteness of detail;† but his son-in-law refused to be convinced, and commenced preparations for invading England in the name of Protestantism and the “rights” of those whose noses were put out of joint by the advent of a male heir.

On November 5, 1688, the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay. The messenger who brought the news to the king was so exhausted by the fatigue of his rapid journey and so affected with the tale he had to tell, that he fell speechless at James' feet.‡ On November 27 the king went to join the army. The little prince was sent to Portsmouth, where his great and loyal half-brother, the Duke of Berwick, was in command. The king returned a week later to tell the queen that all was lost. His most trusted servants had turned traitors; even his daughter Anne and her husband had gone over to the enemy. The cruel distress of this last blow caused the rupture of a blood-vessel in the king's head which brought on a sort of mental deadness, so that his nerve and resource suddenly failed him, and he who had always been so brave and energetic, gave way to apathy and despair. He was fearful of his son's safety at Portsmouth, and sent an escort to fetch him secretly back to town. The little prince encountered many dangers by the way. Upon entering Southwark the soldiers of the escort were recognised as Catholics by the populace, and so threatened and insulted that they were forced to disband; but the prince, crossing Kingston Bridge, met a squadron of guards from Whitehall who conducted him to the palace at 3 A.M. safe and sound.§

* Rawlinson's MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. See also Carter's Letter in “Aubrey,” vol. ii. pp. 136-7, and Thorne's “Diary,” *ap.* Strickland.

† See “Depositions taken the 22nd of October, 1688. relating to the birth of the Prince of Wales.”

‡ Somer's Tracts, vol. ix. p. 269.

§ “Mémoires de Jacques II.”

Since the child was the ostensible pretext for the invasion and revolution, his person was in extreme danger and must be placed in safety outside the distracted kingdom. A French gentleman, Lauzun, then at the English Court, offered his services to the king. Upon the pretext that he wished to return to France a yacht was prepared for him at Gravesend, in which the queen and prince could embark unsuspected.

The queen flung herself upon the king's neck and entreated that she might not be sent away, but remain to die with him. He persuaded her for the child's sake to obey. A night was chosen for her flight, when her most trusted women, Ladies Strickland and Pellegrina Turini, were in waiting. She was dressed in common clothes. Lauzun and Francesco Riva, who gives us a minute account of the eventful night,* took some jewels with them in case of accidents. The child was carried by his nurse, Madame Labadie.† Past challenging sentinels, through the storm-lashed darkness of the December night, tossed upon the swollen river, kept waiting a whole hour of agony under the lee of Lambeth church in the pouring rain with her baby, who might at any moment have betrayed them by crying, the queen, helped by God, says Riva, at last reached Gravesend, and so on to Calais.

The king followed, but was stopped and sent back to London, where Balcarres and Dundee entreated him to remain in England and fight out the quarrel. But James, ill and disheartened, fully recognising how incompatible honesty must be with policy when a Catholic king finds himself reigning over a Protestant people, refused to allow one drop of British blood to be shed in his cause. On December 17 he returned to Rochester, and on the night of the 22nd, accompanied by the Duke of Berwick, he escaped to France. The Prince and Princess of Orange were proclaimed and crowned.

And what manner of man was this whom the English Parliament chose to govern the country in the name of pure religion and liberty—this disinterested champion of an oppressed nation and menaced church? What manner of men were they

* "Les Derniers Stuarts," Campana.

† Terriesi, the Tuscan Ambassador, lent them his carriage which was waiting. Leybourne, the queen's esquire, and St. Victor, a gentleman of Avignon, rode by its side.

who hailed him as the "great Whig deliverer" from wooden shoes and warming-pans, from tyranny and superstition; the wise statesmen, brilliant general, liberal and clement legislator?

His religion was stern hostility to the religion of which the most Christian king was the most powerful champion. His immorality was of a cold, dour sort, not the outcome of a warm heart gone astray, such as the careless profligacy of Charles II. and the deeply-repenting infatuations of James. For his financial morality we have the bogus Darien scheme which ruined Scotland, of which he was the chief promoter, the details of which are too lengthy and too technical for place here. His financial relations with his own family are less complex and still more significant.

An Act of Parliament, never repealed, had settled upon Queen Mary Beatrice a jointure of £50,000. It was contended by the Court of France, on her behalf, that King James being banished and dead in law, she was entitled to the settlement as if she had been really his widow. William did not deny the claim, but gave verbal promise only for its payment. Marshal Boufflers requested that the concession might at least be confirmed by a secret article of the Treaty of Ryswick; but as William professed great indignation that his word should be esteemed less satisfactory than his bond, the Marshal departed with full confidence in the Prince's good faith. At the first demand for payment "Willie the cheater" backed out, on some pretence of unfulfilled condition, though Boufflers swore the concession had been unconditional. Not one penny of that settlement ever was paid to any member of the exiled royal family.* As Lady Marlborough said, the money never found its way farther than William's pockets.†

When the Princess Anne's only surviving child, the Duke of Gloucester, was eight years old, Parliament voted £50,000 a year for his education and maintenance as heir-presumptive. William coolly appropriated two-thirds of the sum to his own military and personal expenses, allowing a third to the purpose for which it was granted. Yet in spite of these tricks, and of a taxation so oppressive that the nation would almost have for-

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1807.

† "Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough."

given the banished king's religion to be relieved from it, he bequeathed to us the National Debt as a standing memorial to his statesmanship and military fame.

For his disinterestedness : he refused to permit his wife to be crowned queen unless he were crowned king with her, with nominally equal power, though the new queen-regnant had as little real power in the State as the banished king himself. He had the crown so settled, that upon his wife's death he succeeded as sole sovereign, with succession to any children he might have by a second wife, to the exclusion of the Princess Anne and her children. Not satisfied with this, for he knew that the English are ever loyal at heart to the dynasty, and that they would never have turned against James had they not been imbued with the belief that the princesses were to be set aside by a supposititious child, he was vindictively jealous of Anne and her boy, and treated them with systematic rudeness and contempt. Upon Mary's death in 1694, when Anne became the first lady in England, he allowed no distinction to be made at Court between her and the aldermen's wives. He was so jealous of the child that when Mary died he bestowed the appanage of the Prince of Wales upon his Dutch favourite, Mynheer Bentinck, called Lord Portland. The people were indignant, for they liked their English princess, and he was threatened with serious opposition if he persisted in such petty slights, and was compelled to mend his manners.

When the little Duke of Gloucester died, on July 30, 1700, William treated the sad event with brutal disrespect ; delaying two whole months to formally notify to the French Court the death of an English prince, thereby embarrassing his ambassador most vexatiously, and distressing the kind-hearted French king, who could not show his sympathy with his bereaved mother, nor even due courtesy to his guest, the child's grandfather, by putting his Court into mourning.

It seems as if William from the first could not endure to think of Anne and her children succeeding him ; that he even preferred as his heiress her cousin the Electoress Sophia of Hanover ; for we find him writing to her on April 18 and 28, 1689, three months before the birth of the Duke of Gloucester, after whom Anne had fourteen children, and twelve years before the Act of Settlement : " You are deeply interested in

all that concerns these kingdoms, since, according to appearances, one of your sons will reign here one day.”*

In private life he was cold and repulsive, save to his Dutch favourites. We know from his wife's own memoirs how sadly disappointed she was at recovering from one serious illness, and how gladly she welcomed death in her thirty-second year, though Macaulay maunders sentimentally over her hair worn upon a black ribbon “next his skin.”† He assuaged the pangs of bereavement by swilling schnapps days together with Bentinck, in a summer-house at Hampton Court. His head was too hard to be affected by potations, and saved his character for sobriety.

As a statesman, he certainly managed to guide the helm of government through terribly disturbed waters. Against the character for clemency given to him by Macaulay and Thackeray, we need but to set one red word: Glencoe.

For his generalship, he won the Battle of the Boyne over an undisciplined host of Irish kernes under a leader whose heart was utterly broken. He lost the battles of Steinkirk and Neerwinden. He spent an enormous amount of money and gained little glory. Berwick, the greatest commander of his age, and a man wholly above jealousy, considered him to be nothing of a general.

He granted some measure of religious liberty to Protestant dissenters because his position depended upon it. As to his methods, they were perforce tortuous: a throne taken by craft and intrigue must be held by craft and intrigue.

Of the men who supported the Revolution, which can be pointed out as an honest man, true to his God, though false to his king? Marlborough, who sold James to William, and Anne to James, and the honour of England to French marshals? Soldiers, bishops, deans, and the horde of traitors who stood round the throne, not even loyal to their treason; without aim or interest among them beyond self-interest, venal, false, utterly corrupt; which of them owned in his heart any God or king but himself with his own interests?

For the king, we have Dundee, “the great captain who stood

* “Memoirs of Mary, ‘Queen of England,’” Döbner.

† “On left arm a ribbon which had tied to it a gold ring with some hair of the late Queen.” Dalrymple, ii. 169.

by his master when all the rest forsook him ; ”* Dundee, whose courage was strong and clear as a diamond, pure of soul, loyal to death,

Last of Scots and last of freemen,
Last of all that dauntless race
That would rather die unsullied,
Than outlive his land's disgrace.

And with him all those valiant men,

Hands that never failed their country,
Hearts that never baseness knew—

churchmen, as well as soldiers : and first of churchmen, Sancroft, once leader of those who resisted the king's illegal interference with the Church, now leader of those who gave up place and power and means of living rather than take the oath to the usurper ; Sancroft who, when Mary asked for his blessing, bade her seek her father's first, without which his must be of no effect.

So by the Act of Settlement the coping-stone was placed upon the edifice founded by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, cemented by the blood and tears of countless martyrs. The Catholic Church lost her last hope of regaining the nation, and was thrust back into despair and darkness for near two hundred years.

A. SHIELD.

* S. R. Crockett, "The Men of the Moss-Hags."

ART. X.—THE EXTENSION OF THE REFORMATION.

IN all great movements, especially those of a revolutionary character, we are generally in a better position to judge of their primary cause after lapse of time has enabled us to watch their development, and note the tendency of their effect. We can mark, step by step, the evolution of actions, the instigators of which would have stood aghast had they been able to foresee those logical consequences which their actions entailed. Principles which they ignored or lost sight of in their anxiety about side issues, become clear to us who succeed them, and have to share in those evils which are but the natural outcome of their action. The orator whose denunciations of existing governments have won him the applause of the debating club, would have been the first to view with horror the spectacle of a murdered king and a nation trembling under a Reign of Terror ; but, had he paused to analyse, he would have seen that the principles his fiery zeal advocated were identical with those of men who hesitated not to carry them out to their unforeseen and terrible issue. This truth is illustrated in the case of that greatest of revolutions which, more than three centuries ago, tore a nation from the unity of the faith of fifteen centuries, dethroned the visible Head of a spiritual kingdom over the hearts of a nation, and established in its place a Reign of Confusion. And we who live in the days when the logical result of what historians call the Reformation is being so rapidly manifested, are the better able to discriminate the real principle which lay at the root of so disastrous and far-reaching a Revolution. The sixteenth century saw men remove the rock on which the edifice of a country's faith was built, and the nineteenth century sees the coming of that storm which washes away the sand on which they sought to establish a substitute in its place. The floods of unbelief have descended, the chilly waters of indifference are rising, and there is abundance of evidence that those within the house are seized with dread that it is about to fall. It is an

age marked by a growing and widespread disbelief in the idea of the supernatural, using the term in its popular and commonly understood meaning. Men are everywhere clamouring for disbelief in all that cannot be proved by reason, or experienced by the senses. Science has penetrated so many dark corners that the existence of any subject outside its domain is becoming distasteful, and the reign of pure reason is becoming so paramount that modern thought refuses to acknowledge the existence of any mystery beyond its reach. Since thus religion stands in peril, and freedom of thought implies liberty in every direction except that of belief in the old truths, can we trace any connection between this result and the principles of the great revolt against religion which is called the Reformation?

If we analyse the meaning of that great change, we see that in reality it might be characterised as a revolt against the idea of the present existence of the supernatural. The doctrines it attacked were specially those which demand the recognition of a living power, still as much energising through the medium of the Church, as was admitted to be the case in Apostolic days. The doctrine of a priesthood acting by the authority and tradition of a Divine Commission, and holding that commission through dependence on the yet higher authority of the Vicar of Christ, gave place to the theory of a ministry merely human, endowed with no higher powers than those of other men. The authority by which the priest spoke was swept away, and the opinion of the individual set up in its place. And naturally with this change there disappeared those doctrines which were dependent on that of sacerdotalism. The Mass, penance, indulgences, invocation of saints, prayer for the dead, apostolical succession, these were the topics of scurrilous writing and unveiled denunciation. All that implied the existence of a living presence in Christianity was destroyed. The altar stone was put to the use of the pig-trough, the missal was burnt, the priest was hurled down and slain, the outward symbols of a divine worship swept away, even the very fabric of the Church fell before the hatred of those who would stamp out the historic creed of centuries from the heart of the nation. The wonder is that even fragments of the old truths survived the general

desolation, and that the originators of this destruction stopped short, or continued to regard as sacred any part of the ancient creed. But though in the work of disintegration men hesitated not to mutilate the Sacred Canon of the Scriptures, they yet realised that to preach a religion that was based upon no authority was impossible; and though church and priest were swept away, they clung to the new doctrine: "The Bible only is the religion of Christians." They destroyed the idea of a living church, and bade men turn their eyes only to the written record of the church of long ago; a church, they said, which spoke once and then became silent; a church miraculous and supernatural, no doubt, in its origin and while its founders lived, but since their time powerless and speechless. And thus the Sacraments, by the new teaching, no longer were regarded as living channels of supernatural agency, but rather as ceremonials of a golden age that once, and once only, brought heaven and earth close together. The men were yet to be born who could venture yet further to question the Personality or Authority of the Divine Teacher of the historic past, but they rendered meaningless to the present His assertion, "He that heareth *you*, heareth Me," since they sought to break the lineage of His successors, and based their appeal to men's hearts upon a document robbed from the hands of those who had preserved it free from calumny and aspersion through centuries. As yet men dared not doubt the title-deeds though they spoiled the rightful inheritors, and constituted themselves guardians of the estate. And thus they paved the way for those who would one day arise and say that the very title-deeds were valueless and the estate not worth possession. They eliminated the doctrine of the present existence of the supernatural in the church and religion. It needed but the lapse of time for others to question or deny its existence and action in the past. And the history of religion since is but the history of the natural evolution of those effects of which their action was the cause. We do but watch the descent of the boulder which they started down the declivity and thought to hinder in its destructive course, and as we trace the path of its ruin we cannot wonder that the abyss is well-nigh reached.

Hence the processes of religious thought have but followed

this law of disintegration, even within the pale of that mutilated Christianity that survived the storm. The unity of teaching was gone, and with the rapidity of jungle growth sprang up that multitude of conflicting sects which now have names over two hundred, each contradicting each, and all claiming the representative of a bygone past. The supernatural character of the teacher's authority gone, there remained nothing but the inclination of individuals to direct thought, and inspire the message. We are not surprised to note in the writings of the last three centuries a marked absence of allusion to the Personality of Him who was to be the abiding power in the Church to guide her into the whole truth. The doctrine of His distinctive work as the Divine Teacher in all ages, gave place to generalities as to His ordinary influence on the hearts and consciences of all men alike. It was but the sequence of disbelief in the present intervention of a supernatural agency, that the doctrine of a teaching Church disappeared, and *quot homines tot sententiae*, became the principle of the new Christianity. The dethronement of the Mother of God from her logical position in Christian theology, was the warning signal of the approach of criticism and unbelief as to the central fact of the Incarnation; and the substitution of a new "rule of faith" necessarily opened the door to the doubts of modern days as to the infallible certainty of the utterances of the Divine Son. And thus the tide has rolled on, obliterating old landmarks, and obscuring the guiding principles of revelation, until the pages of the sacred writings themselves felt the full force of destructive criticism. Schools of thought arose, which, failing to harmonise their opinions with the entire contents of the written record, hesitated not to go still further, and reject the authenticity of passages and whole books in the new Canon. The voice of the living teacher being silenced, confusion of thought ensued as to the meaning and authenticity of the dead letter. Unitarianism appeared and attacked the words and dogmatic truths of the Divine Founder of the Faith, and even in the ranks of the ministry of the established religion we hear utterances irreconcilable with logical belief in His divinity. And with the new complexion cast upon religion, the very meaning of the word "Faith" is changed; it is no longer submission to a teacher,

but merely the outcome of the self-evolved opinion of each individual. It is not a light shed into dark corners from above, but a mere flicker projected on the darkness from within which does but make the increasing gloom more visible. Inevitably the idea of revelation has been obscured by the divisions and contradictions which are the results of so many human opinions, and the unity of truth being destroyed, its fragments are at the mercy of its assailants. Religion has come to be openly regarded as a matter of opinion in which each man's judgment is sufficient guide for himself, and the preacher's approbation depends not upon the authority with which his message is delivered, but upon its coincidence or the reverse with the "views" of his hearers. They listen to him so far as his doctrine is the exponent of their already preconceived ideas, and when it runs counter to their own sentiments his influence is no longer felt. In fact the attitude of the human mind towards religious truth is altogether changed, and could not present a more marked contrast to that of the days when the teachers could say, with the confidence inspired by a divine mission: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us,"* and the taught came trembling with the words: "Sirs, what must we do to be saved,"† and urged by the consciousness of guilt "confessed and showed their deeds."‡

We see, therefore, that the difference between Catholicism and the teachings of the innovators of three centuries ago is one of principle, and not merely of details of belief. The principle of each is irreconcilable with the other, the one being constructive and progressive, the other destructive and retrograde, and hence the impossibility of harmony between the two, or amalgamation on a common footing. The creed of authority must always stand alone in its isolation; it neither gains nor loses by the opinions of private judgment. Its very isolation is but the loneliness of truth; its so-called bigotry is but its consciousness that it is the trustee of truth; its unchangeableness is not the crystallisation of a system, but the faithful guardianship of a sacred trust. It recognises that to admit that all creeds are each as good as the others, involves the logical denial of the existence of objective truth in matters

* Acts xv. 28.

† Acts xvi. 30.

‡ Acts xix. 18.

of religion ; and the fact that this is nowadays the conclusion to which so many minds have at last come, affords testimony that its solitary position is the only possible one. The usual concession of those who have reached the limit of unbelief, that if revelation does exist, Catholicism alone possesses credentials for its acceptance, is but another testimony that its standpoint is the only logical basis for faith.

The characteristics of the present age have now produced an attitude of mind congenial to the final collapse of beliefs, the foundation of which was thus undermined by the destructive principles of the would-be reformers of religion. The rapid advance of scientific discoveries tends to warp minds in one direction, and centre their interest solely on matters which can be experimentally proved and brought within the confines of pure reason. The close study of natural phenomena fosters the growth of the materialistic spirit, and engenders doubt as to the reality of the spiritual, or of matters beyond the sphere of rational demonstration. The whole tendency of the day is to bind man more closely to the earth, and deaden interest as to the probabilities of a future life, and paralyse the exercise of supernatural faculties. The contrast is so marked between the progress of exact knowledge and the shifting opinions produced by the confusions of religious thought. Religion is regarded as an extra more or less necessary to life, but not as its very essence, and as pointing the very meaning of human existence. Men are so absorbed in the contemplation of the present, that they seldom pause to find an answer to the great questions, "Whence and why did I come here, and whither am I going?" Reason reigns so paramount that it becomes illogical, and would fain disregard its own limits, so that men first declare that matters of faith are beyond reason, and thence argue that reason proves their non-existence. The idea of the existence of any faculty which can carry on thought beyond the point where reason fails is banished to the realm of superstition, and nothing could be more opposed to the modern tendency of thought than the teaching *Præstet fides supplementum sensuum defectui*. It is on the senses that men now rely for guidance, and if perception by the senses affords no answer to the question, "How can these things be?" they regard their lack as evidence of the impossibility of truths

beyond their grasp. And yet, glorious as the advance of science has been, it has done nothing to shed a ray of light on the great question, What is life and whence comes it? The surgeon's scalpel cannot disclose its mystery, the analyst's laboratory cannot detect its essence, the veil is lifted by no human hand, and the speculations of philosophy have failed to penetrate its secret. We are confronted with the fact of life and death, a fact surely the most important for us to have some guidance about, and reason, science, and the senses leave us in impenetrable darkness.

And not only is our age a time of special scientific and critical scepticism, but it is an age of religious weariness, the natural result of the growth of confusion. Tossed on the waves of controversy and confounded by the outcry of the various disputants, each, as it were, putting up to auction his self-evolved creed, how could it be otherwise than that the growth of Indifferentism should be the result. Religion has well-nigh become a target for ridicule, and what is called toleration is in reality merely the lack of interest in the question altogether. The very growth of the scientific spirit teaches men that so many contrary opinions cannot all be true, and the only logical conception of faith being obscured, it is not surprising that that indifference should supervene as to the existence of any principle on which it might be based. If religion seems to them in any way a necessity in life, they adopt some or other external garb in which they find it most convenient to clothe it. The possibility of scientific religious truth has evaporated from their minds, and hence they satisfy themselves with some not too obtrusive generalisation, if they do not altogether banish the question as a factor in their lives. Faith to them is merely synonymous with opinion, and each man has the right to enjoy his own opinion of matters outside the pale of possible demonstration by evidence. Surely the natural outcome of such a condition of thought must necessarily be, if not the denial, at least the ignoring of the Supreme Being Himself. The growth of materialism, aided by the spread of Indifferentism, can but end in one way, namely, a negative if not a positive Atheism. Revelation implies a Revealer, and the darkness which surrounds its once acknowledged light and guidance, the confusions that have destroyed

its once undivided unity, have deadened the spiritual sense, and crushed aspiration as to the central fact upon which the reality of religion depends. Belief in God as an abstract theory, or the mere recognition of the existence of a Great First Cause, does not amount to faith that can penetrate a man's life, or become the principle of his actions. Moreover, the denial of revelation, and the destruction of the principle on which it depends, must in the end work the ruin, not only of Faith but also of Morals. The theory that morality is independent of religion, a favourite one in the present day, is as untrue as that religion can be but a matter of opinion. How can there be moral law without a lawgiver, and how can there be any breach of moral order unless we grant the existence of moral law? The very existence of civil laws is logically dependent upon religion; and though by the strength of tradition they may continue to exist when the foundation of religion has been destroyed, they must ever be in peril and need but a change in popular opinion to disappear. Morality, viewed independently apart from the institutions and traditional customs of a nation, demands the basis of a supernatural teaching, and postulates the pre-existence of a divine revelation. Otherwise it is, equally with religion, at the mercy of individual caprice, and so long as the individual can escape the civil penalties of wrongdoing, he may enjoy his own opinion as to questions of right and wrong. If there is no such thing as positive truth in religion, surely it must follow logically that there is no such thing as positive right and wrong. In other words, the theory of sin is inseparable from that of belief, the principle on which both rest must be that of authoritative revelation, and the application of that principle demands the existence of infallible guidance in both Faith and Morals. Are there no signs at the present day that the denial of the existence of any such guidance has obscured men's minds on many questions that concern morality? Or is the age of scientific advancement a time specially characterised by a marked improvement in social morality?

Thus in this development of unbelief do we see the natural growth of that germ that was planted in the midst of the nations by the sowers who went forth to sow three centuries back. As in theological language the supernatural life of the

Catholic Church through eighteen and more centuries is called the Extension of the Incarnation, so the slow decay of religious truth is the Extension of the Reformation. In both, the principle from which they started is working out to its logical issue. In the one it is a principle of construction, so that the Church has grown from the tiny acorn until it becomes a mighty tree under whose branches the nations find shelter. As the germ animated by a supernatural life, gradually manifests through the process of growth all that lay hidden, but yet was contained in the primitive cell, so the sacred deposit of revealed truth has been unfolded by the definitions of the Catholic Church, until the whole glory of a Revealed Religion is manifested before men's eyes. While in the other the principle of disintegration has followed the natural law of decay, the sapless branches of truth have been scattered by the rough winds of conflicting theories, and men are ready to root up the dead trunk and cast it into the already kindled fires of total unbelief.

The remarkable changes that have taken place during the last half century within the pale of the established religion of this country, afford evidence that a large number of minds are recognising the effects resulting from the principles of the Reformation. Dissatisfied with a merely subjective kind of Christianity dependent upon emotion and interior feelings, a school has arisen which has more or less realised that for the teaching of a positive religion an authority is necessary external to that of the individual teacher. Though almost all the great originators of the movement that tends in this direction, naturally carried their principles to a logical issue, and relinquishing the task of setting up a new and self-constituted authority, themselves submitted their private judgment to that already existing, yet numbers, who felt the influence they exercised, maintain the struggle to harmonise conflicting principles. They are thus endeavouring to graft the externals of Catholicism upon the decaying fragments of the Protestant Creed. They recognise the absence of the idea of the present existence of the supernatural, and attempt to repair the ravages the Reformation has worked by an endeavour, themselves being unauthorised, to elevate their consensus of opinions into the place of revealed authority. They see the vast contrast

between the teaching of the formularies of their predecessors, and that of the early Fathers of the first centuries of Christianity, and adjusting many of their private opinions in harmony with independent Catholic dogmas seek to bring back public opinion to the recognition of the need of a dogmatic standpoint for religion. They would restore the sacerdotal principles as dependent upon Apostolical succession, and renew the sacramental system as a supernatural agency in men's lives. They bring back the externals of the ancient faith, and replace the ceremonials so long prohibited of a well-nigh forgotten worship. They recognise the failure of individualism, and seek once more to clothe their message with the authority of *the Church*. And since they recognise that the ancient power cannot be conveyed through a broken channel, they claim for themselves an unbroken lineage in its transmission by the recent theory of *continuity*. The religious history of the last three centuries is to be ignored, during which their predecessors, through whom alone they can trace their claim to "continuity," were totally unconscious of that they were the possessors of any authority or powers of a supernatural character. Indeed, the whole essence of their teaching was the destruction of sacerdotalism and the substitution of the written word for the teaching church; and yet their successors are forced to admit that all the while they were priests unknown to themselves, who offered the sacrifice of the Mass while they taught, they were only "commemorating" the last supper, and were guardians of the sacramental system the objective nature of which they most strenuously denied. They seem to see no difficulty in the fact that if their theory is true, the ministry of the divinely constituted church must have manifested a carelessness as to the sacred deposit of which it was trustee, which can hardly be characterised by any other term than that of sacrilegious; and that the episcopate, to whose authority they show such scant courtesy, has repeatedly shown that it encouraged and fostered a teaching and system diametrically opposed to their claims. But in their anxiety to arrogate to themselves the title "Catholics," while at the same time they dwell in communion with those who glory in the title of "Protestants," they strangely overlook the fact that their principle remains exactly the same as that which made

England Protestant. It is still a principle of private judgment by which they select special dogmas and reject others; it is still a matter of "views," some more some less "high," and hence they possess no principle of cohesion among themselves. They do not even agree together in what they call "the essentials," and hence prove that they still hold that the opinion of the individual is capable of deciding what is and what is not "essential" in a divine revelation. They are as far as ever from grasping the notion of an infallible teacher, since they have formulated the anomalous doctrine that the Church is infallible *in the long run* whatever this may be supposed to mean. We cannot suppose they regard the Church as the living voice of the Holy Ghost, when they thus characterise the nature of its operation. But even supposing they could produce the historic and literary evidence requisite for their assertions, even if they could maintain their novel theory of "continuity," and so remodel the opinions of the whole Established Church that the entirety of its members and episcopate would be in sympathy with their position, still they have only gained the fact that so many additional opinions have come to certain conclusions by the exercise of private judgment. They remain still where they were in respect to their principle of belief, though they hold a certain number of additional independent dogmas; and if another wave of popular feeling passes over the Anglican community, they can as easily reverse their opinions, and yet not sever their connection with the Establishment, the teachings of which are ever fluctuating in the downward or upward tendency of belief. In short, they are not compelled by the truth as an external power, but compel it to be what they themselves voluntarily determine. Success in gaining the consent of numbers does not establish the truth of any system, any more than the apostasy of the majority proves that the minority are in the wrong. And even now, so early in the history of the High Church movement, tendencies have appeared which would have caused consternation to its early originators. While Ritualism is increasing, there is an inclination towards the levelling of dogma to accord with the spirit of the age, and the minimising of supernatural facts so as to bring them within the scope of reason. Beneath all the external imitations of Catholicism there still lurks that

same principle of disintegration which is so characteristic of all religious movements outside the only undivided Faith. A further lapse of time must intervene before an accurate judgment can be formed, as to whether the rise of Anglicanism in its present form is favourable to the spread of Catholicism ; but one thing surely is evident, that its final conversion is not a question of "going a little higher" or believing a little more ; it is a question of accepting the faith on a new principle, it is a total change in attitude of mind, just as conversion from sin implies a change of attitude in the individual towards God, so does conversion in faith amount to a change in attitude towards the Divine Teacher. We welcome an increased spirit of reverence towards the supernatural as a result of the High Church movement ; and must needs admire the individual lives of many who have laboured to produce it. But it is not the life or earnestness of individuals that is the question at issue, nor are we expressing any judgment that is derogatory to their good faith when we cannot help but to recall the words of Him who is the Truth when He declared "*He that is not with us is against us.*" One fact we can at least regard with thankfulness, that since the Church recognises the validity of lay baptism, the increased zeal of the Anglican ministry and their regard to the performance of externals, has done so much to remedy the carelessness of their predecessors in this respect, an acknowledged carelessness which had in itself made more than doubtful the certainty upon which they rely as to their Orders, and whole theory of continuity. When therefore we hear the wild theory advanced that the "*Church of England is the same as the Church before the Reformation,*" or that the "*Church of England never was Roman Catholic,*" while lost in amazement at the assurance with which its members try to alter the history of three centuries and falsify its records, we can but reply that if their assertions could be proved, it would be so much the worse for the Church of England, and so much the greater need for the evangelisation of the country by that which for the first time we hear defined as *the Italian mission.*

Lastly, the dangers which the progress of the Church has to fear are not the external attacks directed against her truth by Anglicanism, or science, or criticism. Her past history for nearly two thousand years is enough to show that heresies

have only been the means of bringing out more clearly the definition of her truths. She has nothing to fear from the progress of scientific truth in its proper sphere, the sphere of reason which stops short where revelation begins. She does resist the intrusion of reason within the boundaries of faith as being in itself most unreasonable. Reason, she owns, cannot grasp the truths she teaches, but neither can it demonstrate them to be false. Nor can modern philosophy demonstrate the non-existence of the supernatural, though it strives to obscure its truth and abolish all else but the world of sense and the visible. The danger to the spread of the faith is lest its members themselves become infected with the prevailing atmosphere of unbelief, and yielding to the fashion and tendency of the age, seek to minimise the infallibility of divine truths, and sink them to the level of changeable human hypotheses. Lest they become less uncompromising than the Church herself in dealing with modern speculations in the domain of faith, and forgetting that, if revelation exists at all it must be divine and hence infallible, think that it can be curtailed or altered to suit the changes of fallible opinions. Lest under the guise of tolerance they conceal that Indifferentism which regards all religions as equally good in themselves, and thus aim a fatal blow at the verity of truth itself, which by its very nature is always indivisible. Whatever charity demands in our judgment as to the individual, and strongly as it may lead us, with our limited knowledge of the circumstances that surround him, to hold our peace as to the position he takes up, it becomes treachery if under its guise we admit that other systems which unite in opposing a truth are all equally to be accepted as representatives of a divine revelation. The logical meaning of indifference in religion is that men have come to believe that a true religion exists nowhere. But the attitude of the Catholic must ever be that of the Divine Founder of the Faith, that men may take the message or leave it at their will, but that their conduct either way, whatever dangers it may involve to themselves, can in no way alter its abstract truth, or increase or lessen its isolated veracity.

Yet this nemesis of general unbelief in which we see what we may call the extension of the Reformation, is at the same time operating as the cause of an increasing number of minds

turning once more to the only guiding principle on which religion can rest. The very confusions of thought are bringing out in stronger contrast the unity of the One Faith, and those who are on the side of religion are being forced to ask, How and why does this phenomena of unity exist? Men are using reason aright in connection with religion, and coming to the primary necessity of the truth that if the veil can be lifted at all it must be by a Hand within. The position is more sharply defined that if a revelation exists it must be divine, if divine it can only be infallible, if infallible it can only be one. They recognise that a Divine Teacher cannot be the author of contradictions, and that if He spoke the truth in the first century He cannot have become silent in the nineteenth. In short, we are coming to the time when men will either be without any religion or else be Catholics: they will either chance the fact of the great unseen, or face it in the assurance of a divine certainty on which they rest secure because it is the logical issue of their calm certainty of God. And those who submit to the authority of faith, and venture not to trust to a "view" as to the only true reality in life, alone can regard without misgiving an hour they can never shun, and a law to which they are compelled to submit, when their senses must fail them, and their reason afford them no support, because even in the great tragedy of death they look to hear the Voice that says to them, "*Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.*"

R. F. CONDER

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI
LEONIS
DIVINA PROVIDENTIA
PAPAE XIII.
LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE
DE ORDINATIONIBVS ANGLICANIS.

LEO EPISCOPVS.

SERVVS SERVORVM DEI.—AD PERPETVAM REI MEMORIAM.

APOSTOLICAE curae et caritatis, qua *pastorem magnum ovium, Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum,** referre pro munere et imitari, aspirante eius gratia, studemus, non exiguam partem pernobili Anglorum nationi tribuimus. Voluntatis in ipsam Nostrae ea praecipuae testis est epistola, quam superiore anno propriam dedimus *ad Anglos, regnum Christi in fidei unitate quaerentes*: eiusdem quippe gentis et veterem cum Ecclesia matre coniunctionem commemorando revocavimus, et felicem reconciliationem, excitata in animis orandi Dei sollertia, contendimus maturare. Rursusque haud ita pridem, quum communibus universe litteris de unitate Ecclesiae fusius agere visum est, non ultimo loco respeximus Angliam; spe praelucente, posse documenta Nostra tum catholicis firmitatem tum dissidentibus salutare lumen afferre. Atque illud fateri libet, quod aequae gentis humanitatem ac multorum sollicitudinem salutis aeternae commendat, id est quam benevole Anglis probata sit instantia Nostra et dicendi libertas, nullo quidem acta humanae rationis impulsu. Nunc autem eâdem Nos mente eodemque animo deliberatum habemus studia convertere ad quamdam non minoris momenti causam, quae cum ea ipsa re votisque Nostris cohaeret. Quod enim apud Anglos, aliquanto postquam ab unitatis christianae centro abscessum est, novus plane ritus ordinibus sacris conferendis, sub rege Eduardo VI., fuit publice inductus; defecisse idcirco verum Ordinis sacramentum, quale Christus instituit, simulque hierarchicam successionem, iam tenuit communis sententia, quam non semel Ecclesiae acta et constans disciplina firmarunt. Attamen recentiore memoria hisque maxime annis invaluit controversia, sacraene Ordinationes ritu eduardiano

* Hebr. xiii. 20.

peractae, natura sacramenti affectuque polleant; faventibus, affirmate vel dubitanter, non modo scriptoribus anglicanis nonnullis, sed paucis etiam catholicis praesertim non anglis. Alteros quippe movebat praestantia sacerdotii christiani, exoptantes ut duplici eius in corpus Christi potestate ne carerent sui; movebat alteros consilium expediendi quodammodo illis reditus ad unitatem; utrisque vero hoc persuasum esse videbatur, iam studiis in eo genere cum aetate provectis, novisque litterarum monumentis ex oblivione erutis, retractari auctoritate Nostra causam non inopportunum fore. Nos autem ea consilia atque optata minime negligentes, maximeque voci obsequentes apostolicae caritatis, censuimus nihil non experiri quod videretur quoquo modo conducere ad animarum vel avertenda damna vel utilitates fovendas.

Placuit igitur de retractanda causa benignissime indulgere: ita sane, ut per summam novae disquisitionis sollertiam, omnis in posterum vel species quidem dubitandi esset remota. Quapropter certo numero viris doctrina et eruditione praestantibus, quorum compertae erant dissimiles in ipsa causa opiniones, negotium dedimus ut momenta sententiae suae scriptis mandarent: eos deinde ad Nos accitos iussimus communicare inter se scripta, et quidquid eo amplius ad rem cognitu esset dignum, indagare atque expendere. Consultumque a Nobis est, ut ipsi diplomata opportuna omni possent copia in tabulariis vaticanis sive nota recognoscere sive inexplorata educere; itemque ut prompta haberent quaecumque eiusdem generis acta apud sacrum Consilium, quod *Suprema* vocatur, asservarentur, neque minus quaecumque ad hoc tempus doctiores viri in utramque partem divulgassent. Huiusmodi adiumentis instructos, voluimus eos in singulares congressiones convenire; quae ad duodecim sunt habitae, praeside uno ex S. R. E. Cardinalibus a Nobismetipsis designato, data singulis facultate disputandi libera. Denique earumdem congressionum acta, una cum ceteris documentis, Venerabilibus Fratribus Nostris Cardinalibus ex eodem Consilio iussimus exhiberi omnia; qui meditatâ causa eâque coram Nobis deinde agitata, suam quisque sententiam dicerent.

Hoc ducendae rei ordine praestituto, ad intimam tamen aestimationem causae aequum erat non ante aggredi, quam id perstudiose quaesitum apparuisset, quo loco ea iam esset secundum Apostolicae Sedis praescriptiones institutamque consuetudinem: cuius consuetudinis et initia et vim magni profecto intererat reputare. Quocirca in primis perpensa sunt documenta praecipua quibus Decessores Nostri, rogatu reginae Mariae, singulares curas ad reconciliationem ecclesiae Anglicae contulerunt. Nam Iulius III Cardinalem Reginaldum Polum, natione Anglum, multiplici laude eximium, Legatum

a latere ad id opus destinavit, *tamquam pacis et dilectionis Angelum suum*, eique mandata seu facultates extra ordinem normasque agendi tradidit*; quas deinde Paulus IV confirmavit et declaravit. In quo ut recte colligatur quidnam in se commemorata documenta habeant ponderis, sic oportet fundamenti instar statuere, eorum propositum nequaquam a re abstractum fuisse, sed rei omnino inhaerens ac peculiare. Quum enim facultates Legato apostolico ab iis Pontificibus tributae, Angliam dumtaxat religionisque in ea statum respicerent; normae item agendi ab eisdem eidem Legato quaerenti impertitae, minime quidem esse poterant ad illa generatim decernenda sine quibus sacrae ordinationes non valeant, sed debebant attinere proprie ad providendum de ordinibus sacris in eo regno, prout temporum monebant rerumque conditiones expositae. Hoc ipsum, praeter quam quod ex natura et modo eorundem documentorum perspicuum est, inde pariter liquet, quod alienum prorsus fuisset, ita velle de iis quae sacramento Ordinis conficiendo necesse sunt, propemodum commonefieri Legatum, eumque virum cuius doctrina etiam in Concilio Tridentino eluxerat.

Ista probe tenentibus non difficulter patebit quare in litteris Iulii III, ad Legatum apostolicum perscriptis die VIII martii MDLIV, distincta sit mentio, de iis primum qui *rite et legitime promoti*, in suis ordinibus essent retinendi, tum de iis qui *non promoti ad sacros ordines*, possent, *si digni et idonei reperti fuissent, promoveri*. Nam certe definiteque notatur, ut reapse erat, duplex hominum classis: hinc eorum qui sacram ordinationem vere suscepissent, quippe id vel ante Henrici secessionem, vel si post eam et per ministros errore dissidiove implicitos, ritu tamen catholico consueto; inde aliorum qui initiati essent secundum Ordinale eduardianum, qui propterea possent *promoveri*, quia ordinationem acceperant irritam. Neque aliud sane Pontificis consilium fuisse, praeclare confirmat epistola eiusdem Legati (die XXIX ianuarii MDLV) facultates suas episcopo Norwicensi demandantis. Id amplius est potissime considerandum quod eae ipsae Iulii III litterae afferunt, de facultatibus pontificiis libere utendis, etiam in eorum bonum quibus munus consecrationis *minus rite et non servata forma Ecclesiae consueta* impensum fuit: qua quidem locutione ii certe designabantur qui consecrati eduardiano ritu; praeter eam namque et catholicam formam alia nulla erat eo tempore in Anglia.

Haec autem apertiora fient commemorando legationem quam Philippus et Maria reges, suadente Cardinali Polo, Romam ad Pontificem februario mense MDLV miserunt. Regii oratores, viri tres

* Id factum augusto mense MDLIII. per litteras sub plumbo, *Si ullo unquam tempore et Post nuntium Nobis*, atque alias.

admodum insignes et omni virtute praediti, in quibus Thomas Thirlby, episcopus Eliensis, sic habebant propositum, Pontificem de conditione rei religiosae in eo regno notitia ampliore edocere, ab ipsoque in primis petere ut ea quae Legatus ad eiusdem regni cum Ecclesia reconciliationem curaverat atque effecerat, haberet rata et confirmaret: eius rei causâ omnia ad Pontificem allata sunt testimonia scripta quae oportebat, partesque Ordinalis novi proxime ad rem facientes. Iam vero Paulus IV, legatione magnifice admissa, eisque testimoniis per certos aliquot Cardinales *diligenter discussis*, et *habita deliberatione matura*, litteras *Praeclara carissimi* sub plumbo dedit die xx iunii eodem anno. In his quum comprobatio plena et robur additum sit rebus a Polo gestis, de ordinationibus sic est praescriptum: *qui ad ordines ecclesiasticos ab alio quam ab episcopo rite et recte ordinato promoti fuerunt, eosdem ordines de novo suscipere teneantur*. Quinam autem essent episcopi tales, *non rite recteque ordinati*, satis iam indicaverant superiora documenta, facultatesque in eam rem a Legato adhibitae: ii nimirum qui ad episcopatum, sicut alii ad alios ordines, promoti essent, *non servata forma Ecclesiae consueta*, vel *non servata Ecclesiae forma et intentione*, prout Legatus ipse ad episcopum Norwicensem scribebat. Hi autem non alii profecto erant nisi qui promoti secundum novam ritualement formam; cui quoque examinandae delecti Cardinales attentam operam dederant. Neque praetermittendus est locus ex eisdem Pontificis litteris, omnino rei congruens, ubi cum aliis beneficio dispensationis egentibus numerantur qui *tam ordines quam beneficia ecclesiastica nulliter et de facto obtinuerant*. Nulliter enim obtinuisse ordines idem est atque irritum actu nulloque effectu, videlicet *invalide*, ut ipsa monet eius vocis notatio et consuetudo sermonis; praesertim quum idem pari modo affirmetur de ordinibus quod de *beneficiis ecclesiasticis*, quae ex certis sacrorum canonum institutis manifesto erant nulla, eo quia cum vitio infirmante collata. Huc accedit quod, ambigentibus nonnullis quinam revera episcopi, *rite et recte ordinati*, dici et haberi possent ad mentem Pontificis, hic non multo post, die xxx octobris, alias subiecit litteras in modum Brevis: atque, *Nos*, inquit, *haesitationem huiusmodi tollere et serenitati conscientiae eorum qui schismate durante ad ordines promoti fuerant, mentem et intentionem quam in eisdem litteris Nostris habuimus clarius exprimendo, opportune consulere volentes, declaramus eos tantum episcopos et archiepiscopos qui non in forma Ecclesiae ordinati et consecrati fuerunt, rite et recte ordinatos dici non posse*. Quae declaratio, nisi apposite ad rem Angliae praesentem, id est ad Ordinale eduardianum, spectare debuisset, nihil certe confecerat Pontifex novis litteris, quo vel *haesitationem tolleret vel serenitati conscientiae consuleret*. Ceterum Apostolicae Sedis documenta et

mandata non aliter Legatus intellexit, atque ita eis rite religioseque obtemperavit: idque pariter factum a regina Maria et a ceteris qui cum ea dederunt operam ut religio et instituta catholica in pristinum statum restituerentur.

Auctoritates quas excitavimus Iulii III et Pauli IV aperte ostendunt initia eius disciplinae quae tenore constanti, iam tribus amplius saeculis, custodita est, ut ordinationes ritu eduardiano, haberentur infectae et nullae; cui disciplinae amplissime suffragantur testimonia multa earundem ordinationum quae, in hac etiam Urbe, saepius absoluteque iteratae sunt ritu catholico. In huius igitur disciplinae observantia vis inest opportuna proposito. Nam si cui forte quidquam dubitationis resideat in quamnam vere sententiam ea Pontificum diplomata sint accipienda, recte illud valet: *Consuetudo optima legum interpretes*. Quoniam vero firmum semper ratumque in Ecclesia manserit, Ordinis sacramentum nefas esse iterari, fieri nullo modo poterat ut talem consuetudinem Apostolica Sedes tacita pateretur ac toleraret. Atqui eam non toleravit solum, sed probavit etiam et sanxit ipsa, quotiescumque in eadem re peculiare aliquod factum incidit iudicandum. Duo eiusmodi facta in medium proferimus, ex multis quae ad Supremam sunt subinde delata: alterum (an. MDCLXXXIV) cuiusdam Calvinistae Galli, alterum (an. MDCCIV) Ioannis Clementis Gordon; utriusque secundum rituale eduardianum suos adepti ordines. In primo, post exquisitam rei investigationem, Consultores non pauci responsa sua, quae appellant vota, de scripto ediderunt, ceterique cum eis in unam conspirarunt sententiam, *pro invaliditate ordinationis*: tantum quidem ratione habita opportunitatis, placuit Cardinalibus respondere, *Dilata*. Eadem vero acta repetita et ponderata sunt in facto altero: quaesita sunt praeterea nova Consultorum vota, rogatique doctores egregii e Sorbonicis ac Duacenis, neque praesidium ullum perspicacioris prudentiae praetermissum est ad rem penitus pernoscendam. Atque hoc animadvertisse oportet quod, tametsi tum ipse Gordon cuius negotium erat, tum aliquot Consultores inter causas *nullitatis* vindicandae, etiam adduxissent illam prout putabatur ordinationem Parkerii, in sententia tamen ferenda omnino seposita est ea causa, ut documenta produnt integrae fidei, neque alia ratio est reputata nisi *defectus formae et intentionis*. Qua de forma quo plenius esset certiusque iudicium, cautum fuerat ut exemplar Ordinalis anglicani suppeteret; atque etiam cum eo singulae collatae sunt formae ordinandi, ex variis orientalium et occidentalium ritibus conquisitae. Tum Clemens XI, Cardinalium ad quos pertinebat consentientibus suffragiis, ipsemet feria v, die XVII aprilis MDCCIV, decrevit: “. . . Ioannes Clemens Gordon *ex integro et absolute* ordinetur ad omnes ordines etiam sacros et praecipue presbyteratus, et quatenus non fuerit confirmatus, prius sacramentum.

Confirmationis suscipiat." Quae sententia, id sane considerare refert, ne a defectu quidem *traditionis instrumentorum* quidquam momenti duxit: tunc enim praescriptum de more esset ut ordinatio *sub conditione* instauraretur. Eo autem pluris refert considerare, eandem Pontificis sententiam spectare universe ad omnes Anglicanorum ordinationes. Licet enim factum attigerit peculiare, non tamen ex peculiari quapiam ratione profecta est, verum ex *vitio formae*, quo quidem vitio ordinationes illae aequae afficiuntur omnes: adeo ut, quoties deinceps in re simili decernendum fuit, toties idem Clementis XI communicatum sit decretum.

Quae quum ita sint, non videt nemo controversiam temporibus nostris exsuscitatam, Apostolicae Sedis iudicio definitam multo antea fuisse: documentisque illis haud satis quam oportuerat cognitis, fortasse factum ut scriptor aliquis catholicus disputationem de ea libere habere non dubitarit. Quoniam vero, ut principio monuimus, nihil Nobis antiquius optatiusque est quam ut hominibus recte animatis maximâ possimus indulgentia et caritate prodesse, ideo iussimus in Ordinale anglicanum, quod caput est totius causae, rursus quam studiosissime inquiri.

In ritu cuiuslibet sacramenti conficiendi et administrandi iure discernunt inter partem *caeremonialem* et partem *essentialem* quae *materia et forma* appellari consuevit. Omnesque norunt, sacramenta novae legis, utpote signa sensibilia atque gratiae invisibilis efficientia, debere gratiam et significare quam efficiunt et efficere quam significant. Quae significatio, etsi in toto ritu essentiali, in materia scilicet et forma, haberi debet, praecipue tamen ad formam pertinet; quum materia sit pars per se non determinata et quae per illam determinetur. Idque in sacramento Ordinis manifestius apparet, cuius conferendi materia, quatenus hoc loco se dat considerandum, est manuum impositio; quae quidem nihil definitum per se significat, et aequae ad quosdam Ordines, aequae ad Confirmationem usurpatur. Iamvero verba quae ad proximam usque aetatem habentur passim ab Anglicanis tamquam forma propria ordinationis presbyteralis, videlicet, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, minime sane significant definite ordinem sacerdotii vel eius gratiam et potestatem, quae praecipue est potestas *consecrandi et offerendi verum corpus et sanguinem Domini*,* eo sacrificio, quod non est *nuda commemoratio sacrificii in Cruce peracti*.† Forma huiusmodo aucta quidem est postea iis verbis, *ad officium et opus presbyteri*: sed hoc potius convincit, Anglicanos vidisse ipsos primam eam formam fuisse mancā neque idoneam rei. Eadem vero adiectio, si forte quidem legitimam

* Trid. Sess. xxiii., *de sacr. Ord. can.*, 1.

† *Ib.* Sess. xxii. *de sacrif. Missae, can.*, 3.

significationem apponere formae posset, serius est inducta, elapso iam saeculo post receptum Ordinale eduardianum; quum propterea, Hierarchiâ extincta, potestas ordinandi iam nulla esset. Nequidquam porro auxilium causae novissime arcessitum est ab aliis eiusdem Ordinalis precibus. Nam, ut cetera praetereantur quae eas demonstrent minus proposito sufficientes in ritu anglicano, unum hoc argumentum sit instar omnium, de ipsis consulto detractum esse quidquid in ritu catholico dignitatem et officia sacerdotii perspicue designat. Non ea igitur forma esse apta et sufficiens sacramento potest, quae id nempe reticet quod deberet proprium significare.

De consecratione episcopali similiter est. Nam formulae, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, non modo serius adnexa sunt verba, *ad officium et opus episcopi*, sed etiam de iisdem, ut mox dicemus, iudicandum aliter est quam in ritu catholico. Neque rei proficit quidquam advocasse praefationis precem, *Omnipotens Deus*; quum ea pariter deminuta sit verbis quae *summum sacerdotium* declarent. Sane nihil huc attinet explorare, utrum episcopatus complementum sit sacerdotii, an ordo ab illo distinctus: aut collatus, ut aiunt, *per saltum*, scilicet homini non sacerdoti, utrum effectum habeat necne. At is procul dubio, ex institutione Christi, ad sacramentum Ordinis verissime pertinet, atque est praecellenti gradu sacerdotium; quod nimirum et voce sanctorum Patrum et rituali nostra consuetudine *summum sacerdotium, sacri ministerii summa* noncupatur. Inde fit ut, quoniam sacramentum Ordinis verumque Christi sacerdotium ritu anglicano penitus extrusum est, atque adeo in consecratione episcopali eiusdem ritus nullo modo sacerdotium confertur, nullo item modo episcopatus vere ac iure possit conferri: eoque id magis quia in primis episcopatus muniis illud scilicet est, ministros ordinandi in sanctam Eucharistiam et sacrificium.

Ad rectam vero plenamque Ordinalis anglicani aestimationem, praeter ista per aliquas eius partes notata, nihil profecto tam valet quam si probe aestimetur quibus adiunctis rerum conditum sit et publice constitutum. Longum est singula persequi, neque est necessarium: eius namque aetatis memoria satis diserte loquitur, cuius animi essent in Ecclesiam catholicam auctores Ordinalis, quos adsciverint fautores ab heterodoxis sectis, quo denum consilia sua referrent. Nimis enim vero scientes quae necessitudo inter fidem et cultum, inter *legem credendi et legem supplicandi* intercedat, liturgiae ordinem, specie quidem redintegrandae eius formae primaevae, ad errores Novatorum multis modis deformarunt. Quamobrem toto Ordinali non modo nulla est aperta mentio sacrificii, consecrationis, sacerdotii, potestatisque consecrandi et sacrificii offerendi; sed immo omnia huiusmodi rerum vestigia, quae superessent in precationibus ritus catholici non plane reiectis, sublata et deleta sunt de industria, quod paulo supra attigimus.

Ita per se apparet nativa Ordinalis indoles ac spiritus, uti loquuntur. Hinc vero ab origine ducto vitio, si valere ad usum ordinationum minime potuit, nequaquam decursu aetatum, quum tale ipsum permanserit, futurum fuit ut valeret. Atque ii egerunt frustra qui inde a temporibus Caroli I conati sunt admittere aliquid sacrificii et sacerdotii, nonnullâ dein ad Ordinale facta accessione: frustra que similiter contendit pars ea Anglicanorum non ita magna, recentiore tempore coalita, quae arbitratur posse idem Ordinale ad sanam rectamque sententiam intelligi et deduci. Vana, inquam, fuere et sunt huiusmodi conata: idque hac etiam de causa, quod, si qua quidem verba, in Ordinali anglicano ut nunc est, porrigant se in ambiguum, ea tamen, sumere sensum eundem nequeunt quem habent in ritu catholico. Nam semel novato ritu, ut vidimus, quo nempe negetur vel adulteretur sacramentum Ordinis, et a quo quaevis notio repudiata sit consecrationis et sacrificii; iam minime constat formula, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, qui Spiritus, cum gratia nimirum sacramenti, in animam infunditur; minimeque constant verba illa, *ad officium et opus presbyteri vel episcopi* ac similia, quae restant nomina sine re quam instituit Christus. Huius vim argumenti perspectam ipsi habent plerique Anglicani, observantiores Ordinalis interpretes; quam non dissimulanter eis obiciunt qui nove ipsum interpretantes, Ordinibus inde collatis pretium virtutemque non suam spe vana affingunt. Eodem porro argumento vel uno illud etiam corrui, opinantium posse in legitimam Ordinis formam sufficere precationem, *Omnipotens Deus, bonorum omnium largitor*, quae sub initium est ritualis actionis; etiamsi forte haberi ea posset tamquam sufficiens in ritu aliquo catholico quem Ecclesia probasset.

Cum hoc igitur intimo *formae defectu* coniunctus est *defectus intentionis*, quam aequè necessario postulat, ut sit, sacramentum. De mente vel intentione, utpote quae per se quiddam est interius, Ecclesia non iudicat: at quatenus extra proditur, iudicare de ea debet. Iamvero quum quis ad sacramentum conficiendum et conferendum materiam formamque debitam serio ac rite adhibuit, eo ipso censetur id nimirum facere intendisse quod facit Ecclesia. Quo sane principio innititur doctrina quae tenet esse vere sacramentum vel illud, quod ministerio hominis haeretici aut non baptizati, dummodo ritu catholico, conferratur. Contra, si ritus immutetur, eo manifesto consilio ut alius inducatur ab Ecclesia non receptus, utque id repellatur quod facit Ecclesia et quod ex institutione Christi ad naturam attinet sacramenti, tunc palam est, non solum necessarium sacramento intentionem deesse, sed intentionem inmo haberi sacramento adversam et repugnantem.

Isthaec omnia diu multumque reputavimus apud Nos et cum Venerabilibus Fratribus Nostris in Suprema iudiciis: quorum etiam

Coetum singulariter coram Nobis advocare placuit feria v, die xvi iulii proximi, in commemoratione Mariae D. N. Carmelitidis. Iique ad unum consensere, propositam causam iam pridem ab Apostolica Sede plene fuisse et cognitam et iudicatam: eius autem denuo instituta actâque quaestione, emersisse illustrius quanto illa iustitiae sapientiaeque pondere, totam rem absolvisset. Verumtamen optimum factu duximus supersedere sententiae, quo et melius perpenderemus conveniret ne expediretque eandam rem auctoritate Nostra rursus declarari, et uberiores divini luminis copiam supplices imploraremus. Tum considerantibus Nobis ut idem caput disciplinae, etsi iure iam definitum, a quibusdam revocatum sit in controversiam, quacumque demum causa sit revocatum; ex eoque pronum fore ut perniciosus error gignatur non paucis qui putent se ibi Ordinis sacramentum et fructus reperire ubi minime sunt, visum est in Domino sententiam Nostram edicere.

Itaque omnibus Pontificum Decessorum in hac ipsa causa decretis usquequaque assentientes, eaque plenissime confirmantes ac veluti renovantes auctoritate Nostra, motu proprio certa scientia pronunciamus et declaramus, Ordinationes ritu anglicano actas, irritas prorsus fuisse et esse omninoque nullas.

Hoc restat, ut quo ingressi sumus *Pastoris magni* nomine et animo veritatem tam gravis rei certissimam commonstrare, eodem adhortemur eos qui Ordinum atque Hierarchiae beneficia sincera voluntate optent et requirant. Usque adhuc fortasse, virtutis christianae intendentes ardorem, religiosius consulentes divinas Litteras, pias duplicantes preces, incerti tamen haeserunt et anxii ad vocem Christi iamdiu intime admonentis. Probe iam vident quo se bonus Ille invitet ac velit. Ad unicum eius ovile si redeant, tum vero et quaesita beneficia assecuturi sunt et consequentia salutis praesidia, quorum administram fecit Ipse Ecclesiam, quasi redemptionis suae custodem perpetuam et procuratricem in gentibus. Tum vero *haurient aquas in gaudio de fontibus Salvatoris*, sacramentis eius mirificis: unde fideles animae in amicitiam Dei, remissis vere peccatis, restituuntur, caelesti pane aluntur et roborantur, adiumentisque maximis affluunt ad vitae ademptionem aeternae. Quorum bonorum revera sitientes. utinam *Deus pacis, Deus totius consolationis* faciat compotes atque expleat perbenignus. Hortationem vero Nostram et vota eos maiorem in modum spectare volumus, qui religionis ministri in communitatibus suis habentur. Homines ex ipso officio praecedentes doctrina et auctoritate, quibus profecto cordi est divina gloria et animorum salus, velint alacres vocanti Deo parere in primis et obsequi, praeclarumque de se edere exemplum. Singulari certe laetitia eos Ecclesia mater excipiet omnique complectetur bonitate et providentia, quippe quos per arduas rerum difficultates virtus animi generosior ad sinum suum

reducerit. Ex hac vero virtute dici vix potest quae ipsos laus maneat in coetibus fratrum per catholicum orbem, quae aliquando spes et fiducia ante Christum iudicem, quae ab illo praemia in regno caelesti. Nos quidem, quantum omni ope licuerit, eorum cum Ecclesia reconciliationem fovere non desistemus; ex qua et singuli et ordines, id quod vehementer cupimus, multum capere possunt ad imitandum. Interea veritatis gratiaeque divinae patentem cursum ut secundare contendant fideliter, per viscera misericordiae Dei nostri rogamus omnes et obsecramus.

Praesentes vero litteras et quaecumque in ipsis habentur nullo unquam tempore de subreptionis aut obreptionis sive intentionis Nostrae vitio aliove quovis defectu notari vel impugnari posse; sed semper validas et in suo robore fore et esse, atque ab omnibus cuiusvis gradus et praeeminentiae inviolabiliter in iudicio et extra observari debere decernimus: irritum quoque et inane si secus super his a quoquam, quavis auctoritate vel praetextu, scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari declarantes, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Volumus autem ut harum litterarum exemplis, etiam impressis, manu tamen notarii subscriptis et per constitutum in ecclesiastica dignitate virum sigillo munitis, eadem habeatur fides quae Nostrae voluntatis significationis his praesentibus ostensis haberetur.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo sexto, idibus Septembribus, Pontificatus Nostri anno decimo nono.

A. CARD. BIANCHI,
Pro-Datarius.

C. CARD. DE RVGGIERO.

Visa

DE CVRIA. I. DE AQVILA E VICECOMITIBVS.

Loco ✠ Plumbi.

Reg. in Secret. Brevium.

I. CVGNONI.

Science Notices.

Mr. Friedlander's Atmospheric Dust Observations.—Mr. E. D. Friedlander, equipped with that small but efficient instrument known as Aitken's pocket dust counter, has recently made a voyage round the world for the purpose of making observations of the amount of dust in the atmosphere in different places. In April last he laid the results of his investigations before a meeting of the Royal Meteorological Society, and his carefully prepared paper earned the commendation of the president as being one of the two most interesting that has been submitted to the Society for some time. Considering the importance of such inquiries, it is remarkable that his paper should have been the first to bring the subject to any extent before the Society.

The observations are divided into two groups: (1) those made in various parts of the world, mostly on the ocean, between July 1894 and March 1895; (2) those made in Switzerland from June to September 1895, and those observations made on the open ocean, and perhaps the most interesting, as they afford some reliable information concerning the natural distribution of dust in the air. It is surprising to what distances artificial dust pollution can be conveyed. In the course of the observations under notice it was found that while the average number of dust particles per cubic centimetre of air on the Pacific Ocean from October 30 to November 6, inclusive, was 540, on November 7 at about 250 miles from Auckland, the number rose to 1229, and that on November 8, when some fifteen miles from the great barrier island, it was 1972.

High mountains, unless isolated from uninhabited regions, cannot be considered satisfactory stations for studying the natural distribution of dust, for even at considerable elevations a comparatively large amount of dust particles are often found, and are probably due to the carriage of polluted air up the mountain from below. Several of Mr. Friedlander's observations in Switzerland confirm this latter supposition based on the work of Mr. Aitken on the Rigi and elsewhere. On La Paraz, the highest point of the ridge forming the northern wall of the Vallés des Ormonts, the average dustiness of the air at an altitude of 8360 feet was 2062 per cubic centimetre, while the observations made on the following day in the valley 4400 feet below, and

situated away from the direct stream of polluted air from the village of Ormonts Dessus, gave the dustiness as 1958. The high value on the summit was probably due to the carriage of air from the Commune below up the face of the ridge by the southerly wind that was blowing across the valley while the experiments were in progress. On the summit of the Olderhorn, 10,250 feet high, and about 6000 feet above the Vallés des Ormonts, the dustiness was 1666. This rather high value seems to be due to the mixing of impure lower air with the higher layers of greater purity by the westerly wind traversing the valley lengthwise from the village towards the mountain.

The carriage of dust particles for long distances is confirmed by the fact pointed out by Mr. Symons, that saline deposits have been found 50 or 60 miles inland.

The experiments made on mountains have not led to any definite conclusion as to the variation of the number of dust particles with altitude, as different places give such widely varying results, not only for the dustiness at a stated altitude, but for its rate of change with variation of level. At the Diablents, at altitudes of 6000 and 5000 feet respectively, the amounts of dust particles per c.c. were 2458 and 2937, but at Zinal, while the dustiness at 8200 feet was 481, that at 6700 feet was 950, giving a difference of 469 particles per c.c. for a rise of 1500 feet as compared with a change of 479 particles per 1000 feet in the former case. Mr. Friedlander considers the most satisfactory tests in this respect to be those made on the Bieshorn, specially selected for its position, height, and simplicity of ascent. The Bieshorn forms part of the chain containing the Rothhorn and Weisshorn, rising about 9000 feet above the Zermatt valley on its east and some 8000 feet from that of Zinal on the west. To the north, and some 2500 feet below its summit, lies a large covered glacier, while in a south-westerly direction stretches a region, many miles in extent, of snow-capped peaks and glaciers. At the summit, which is 13,600 feet in height, the number of particles per c.c. were 157. This, as would be expected, appears to be the smallest number that was found in any part of the world. At 13,200 feet the number increased to 219, at 11,000 feet it was 257, at 10,665 feet it was 406, at 8400 feet it was 513, at 8200 feet there was a decrease, the number being 480, at 6700 feet the value was 950. The abrupt change of value from 257 particles per c.c. at the third station to 406 at the fourth, where the difference of level was only 335 feet, is accounted for by the imperfect mixing of upper and lower strata of air by the form of the mountain at this part. "The glacier sloped away very gently from the third to the fourth station, which latter was on the edge of a wall of loose rock running steeply down to a plateau some

2200 feet below, and over this edge the warm air from below blew in irregular gusts." Though the number of particles at the top of the mountain is comparatively small it is larger than might be expected for their altitude. Mr. Friedlander thinks the relatively high value is partially explained by the fact that the season in which these observations were taken was a very hot and dry one, there having been no rain for some days previous to that on which the observations were made. There was hardly any wind at the time. To Mr. Friedlander must be given the credit of having first made dust observations at heights varying from 6000 to over 13,000 feet.

The tests made on the Pacific and Indian oceans point to the general purity of the air, especially in the latter, where the average number of dust particles per c.c. for seven out of nine days was less than 500, and on five of these less than 400. It is pointed out, however, that much lower values than these were obtained by Mr. Aitken at Kingairloch in the West Highlands, though almost invariably under conditions of rain, fog, and mist, which are found to exercise a marked purifying effect on the air. The ocean observations under notice were taken for the most part in calm and fine weather in the absence of such purifying agents, but in a few of his experiments he found illustration of the purifying effects of rain and fog. On the Indian Ocean the lowest value, 210, was found after much rain had fallen. On the Pacific, in experiments conducted on two consecutive days, the average dustiness of the first day which was 529, on the second, which was showery, was 303. Observations made on the Atlantic at Santa Cruz, on the eastern margin of the Pacific, and in the Mediterranean off the island of Crete, gave evidence of the purifying effect of fog; during a thick fog the value was 3000, but half an hour after clearing of fog it was only 420.

Mr. Friedlander thinks that the dust found in the air over the open ocean consists largely of particles of salt, produced by the evaporation of sea water from fine spray. He does not, however, think it is entirely composed of salt, and hints that it may be partly of meteoric and partly of volcanic origin. In support of this last suspicion he quotes an example when the high value of 9470 particles per c.c. is recorded from tests taken on the shore of Lake Taupo, New Zealand, and in the direct line of the smoky air blowing from the active vulcano Ngauruhoe more than fifty miles away.

It seems a pity these observations were not extended to an analysis of the dust found in the various places. Then Mr. Friedlander could have spoken as an authority on the subject of composition, and the value of his paper would have been more than doubled.

The International Catalogue of Scientific Literature.—To the scientific investigator, the search for what is already known is often the most laborious portion of his pursuit of new knowledge. Yet such labours are inseparable from original research. It is with the view of lightening the task that the Royal Society brought about the recent International Conference for the purpose of considering the compilation of an "International Catalogue of Scientific Literature." For a long time past the Royal Society has realised the pressing need of such a work. In the middle of the present century it commenced the author-index, and in 1893 it made a start in making an index according to subjects. The continuation of such a work has, however, been found to be beyond the resources of the Society, and it has wisely sought international co-operation. In the Conference lately held in the rooms of the Royal Society at Burlington House, there were delegates present to represent nearly all the Governments of civilised countries, and most of the leading scientific societies of the world. This conference of nations, whose one object has been the furtherance of scientific investigation, was a striking proof that science is truly international. For it, there exists no distinction of race.

During the Conference it was resolved that a complete catalogue of scientific literature should be arranged according both to subject-matter and authors' names, so that an investigator may, by means of the catalogue, find out easily what has been published concerning any particular inquiry. For the administration of the catalogue there is to be a representative body called the International Council, and the final editing and publication of the catalogue is to be entrusted to an organisation called the Central International Bureau, acting under the International Council, and which is to be located in London. Any country which shall declare its willingness is to be entrusted with the duty of collecting, provisionally classifying, and transmitting to the Central Bureau, in accordance with rules laid down by the International Council, all the entries belonging to the scientific literature of that country. In indexing according to subject-matter, regard is to be had not only to the title of a paper or book, but also to the nature of its contents. The catalogue is to comprise all published original contributions to the various branches of science, whether appearing in periodicals or in independent pamphlets, memoirs, or books. A contribution to science for the purpose of the catalogue will be considered to mean a contribution to the mathematical, physical, or natural sciences, such as, for example, mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, mineralogy, geology, botany, mathematical and physical geography, zoology, anatomy, general and experimental pathology, experimental psychology, and antropology, to the exclusion of what

are called the applied sciences. In judging whether a publication is to be considered as a compilation suitable for entry in the catalogue, regard is to be had to its contents, irrespective of the channel through which it is published. The Central Bureau is to issue the catalogue in the form of "slips" or "cards." Cards corresponding to any one or more branches of science, or to sections of such sciences, shall be supplied separately at the discretion of the Central Bureau. The catalogue will also be issued from time to time in book form. The Royal Society is to form a committee to study all questions relating to the catalogue referred to by the Conference or remaining undecided at the close of the Conference, and to report thereon to the Governments concerned. The two catalogues are to be in the English language, authors' names and titles being given only in the original languages, except when these belong to the category to be determined by the International Council. It is to be left to the Royal Society committee to suggest such details as will render the catalogue of the greatest possible use to those unfamiliar with English. The Royal Society is to be informed, at a date not later than January 1, 1898, as to what steps are being taken in the countries whose Governments were represented at the Conference towards establishing organisations for the purpose of collecting the entries belonging to the scientific literature of the respective countries. January 1, 1900, has been fixed as the date for the commencement of this colossal work.

It is expected that the guarantee fund required for the Central Bureau can be provided by voluntary subscriptions in various countries, and that it will not be necessary to appeal to any of the Governments represented at the Conference for financial aid.

The Davy-Faraday Research Laboratory.—Before the close of this year the magnificent laboratory to be known as the Davy-Faraday Research Laboratory, and available to all who possess the necessary qualifications, will be opened for the pursuit of original research. The foundation and maintenance of the laboratory is not the outcome of a Government grant, though the necessity for such liberality has for years been urged by the British Association. It is to the munificence of one individual, Dr. Ludwig Mond, that investigators are indebted for facilities in some research they have not hitherto enjoyed in this country. On June 12 Dr. Mond transferred to the managers of the Royal Institution the freehold of No. 20 Albermarle Street, adjoining the Royal Institution, for the purposes of the laboratory. The premises have undergone considerable alteration, in order to adapt them for the purpose, and no expense has been spared in providing the

necessary apparatus and appliances for the most varied and delicate investigations in chemical and physical science. The Laboratory provides a room for thermo-chemical and pyro-chemical research, a mechanics' workshop, a room for electrical work, a battery of twenty-six electric storage cells, constant temperature vaults, a boiler house, rooms for research in organic and inorganic chemistry, a fire-proof room for experiments in sealed tubes, a balance room, several rooms for research in physical chemistry, rooms for organic and inorganic preparations, and a photographic room. On the roof there is an asphalted flat with a table, gas, and water. There is also a large double library, and a museum of apparatus. For the convenience of the workers all the floors are connected by an hydraulic passenger lift. Dr. Mond has placed in the hands of the managers of the Royal Institution an ample annual endowment, so that the Laboratory may be maintained in a state of efficiency.

Lord Rayleigh and Professor Dewar have been appointed directors of the Laboratory, the affairs of which will be managed by a Laboratory Committee appointed by the managers of the Royal Institution. By the trust deed it is provided that the necessary qualifications for admittance are that the applicant shall have already been engaged in original research, or shall be recommended by the Laboratory Committee as being qualified to undertake it. Applicants may be of either sex and of any nationality. Admission to the Laboratory will be free, and there will be no charge for use of the apparatus.

Atmospheric Electricity.—Professor Arthur Schuster's paper on Atmospheric Electricity, recently published in the "Proceedings of the Royal Institution," is a very lucid summary of the researches that have already been made in this still obscure subject. The accurate observation of atmospheric electricity may be said to be due to Lord Kelvin, who first constructed delicate electrical appliances for this object. Such instruments have been further developed by Mascart, Exner, Elster, and Geitel.

As Professor Schuster points out, it has been clearly demonstrated that the earth is negatively electrified; in fact we live in an electrical field, lines of force stretching through the air, from the ground, our bodies, and every object which is exposed. Perhaps the strength of this field of force is not often realised; it is such that if we should want to produce it artificially between two parallel plates at a distance of a foot, we should require an electro-motive force sufficient to light an incandescent electric lamp. In this country 50 to 100 volts is constantly observed, and in clear climates the force is often considerably

greater. It has often been asked, where are the ends of those lines of force? By the theory proposed by Pellier, and more recently supported by Exner, it is conceived that they leave the earth and its atmosphere altogether, forming "invisible bonds between us and the sun, the stars, and the infinity of space." If we could allow that the earth once electrified negatively could thus remain for ever, the corresponding positive electrification being outside our atmosphere altogether, we should have a simple theory which would account for the normal fall of potential at the surface. But to maintain this view we must assume that the atmosphere is a complete non-conductor to the normal electric stress, which is unfortunately not the case. Several causes break down the insulating properties of air. Flames conduct electricity, and not only flames but the gases that arise from them, therefore "every fire burnt on the surface of the earth, and every chimney through which products of combustion pass, act like very effective lightning conductors, and would consequently discharge slowly but surely any electrification of the surface of the earth." This fact explains the immunity of factory chimneys against damage by lightning. Hellmann collected statistics showing that while 6·3 churches and 8·5 windmills per thousand were struck, the number of factory chimneys struck was only 0·3.

A negatively charged surface will discharge into air when illuminated by strong violet light, and sunlight is sufficiently potent with very sensitive materials. Elster and Geitel have made investigations to try and ascertain whether such bodies as the earth's crust is composed of will act thus under sunlight, but have not obtained any result, so there is no direct evidence that light can be included as an active agent in the phenomenon of atmospheric electricity.

The electric discharge itself is a very powerful and probably very generally active means of breaking down the insulating power of air. Some experiments which Professor Schuster described in the "Proceedings of the Royal Society," vol. xlii., were objected to on the ground that it might not be the discharge itself, but the ultra-violet light emitted by the luminosity of the discharge, which is the active agent. Such opponents are, however, silenced by the experiments he now describes. A Rhumkorff coil is entirely surrounded by a metallic box which is connected to earth. The terminals of the coil lead to two electrodes inside a metallic tube, which is also kept at zero potential. Through this tube a current of air can be blown. The air escaping through the tube either impinges on, or passes near, a metallic plate connected to a charged electroscope. Under these circumstances the electroscope is not discharged either by a current of air alone, or by the coil alone. But when the air is blown through the apparatus

while the sparks are passing, and then made to impinge on the plate, the electroscope is instantaneously discharged. If an electric discharge breaks down the insulating power of a gas, it stands to reason that the outer region of the atmosphere must conduct. The existence of the aurora borealis in the Arctic regions, which, according to Norden-skjöld's observations, is a permanent phenomenon there, leads us to suppose that electric currents are continuously passing through the upper regions of the air.

The fascinating question of the ending of the lines of force can best be solved by experiments with balloons or kites. Professor Schuster thus describes the more important results that have been obtained.

Observations made up to heights of about 1000 feet seem to indicate a strengthening of the electric field—*i.e.*, the fall of potential per metre is greater at a height of, say, 200 metres than on the surface of the earth. The observations of Dr. Leonhard Weber bring out this point clearly. In one case the fall of potential at a height of 350 metres was found to be six times that at the earth's level. This increase is in itself not surprising, if we remember that every particle of dust raised from the ground must itself be negatively electrified, and probably the observed increase in the electric force is sufficiently accounted for by the presence of electrified dust.

Observations made at greater heights in balloons, on the other hand, seem clearly to indicate that this increase soon ceases, and that a diminution already takes place at moderate heights. Thus the observations of Dr. O. Baschin gives for the fall of potential in volts per metre the numbers 49, 28, 13, at heights of 760, 2400, 2800, respectively; and at a height of 3000 metres no measurable fall at all could be obtained. These observations were made in clear weather. The balloon afterwards passed over a layer of clouds, and strong electric effects were noticed. Similar observations had been previously made by others (Andrée, Le Cadet, and Bornstein), and though the subject is by no means exhausted, we may take it as provisionally established, that the lines of force of the normal electric field of the earth end within the first 10,000 feet or 15,000 feet.

Other observations at the mountain observatory established on the "Sonnblick" in Salzburg, at a height of 3100 metres, tend to confirm the conclusion that the positive ends of the lines of force are situated at a height of about 10,000 feet. It has been found that the electric force is singularly constant. The great differences observed at low levels between the electric field in summer and winter, and on dry and wet days, are completely absent.

Though we know that the earth when once electrified would gradually lose its charge into the atmosphere, it is impossible yet to express any opinion as to the rate at which the leakage is going on. As Professor Schuster points out, the loss may be very slow, and consequently equilibrium might be attained by a very small preponderance of negative electricity brought back to its surface by some cause

or other. For instance, rain is more frequently electrified negatively than positively in our own climate, and it is not impossible that the surface of the earth may make up the loss in this way. Leonard's observations on salt water are worth considering in accounting for the permanent change. "Every wave that breaks into spray under the action of a strong wind would leave the water negatively electrified, the air carrying away the positive charge."

Though the loss of electricity may be slow, yet it may be considerable. Professor Schuster thinks we shall not be able to treat the question satisfactorily till we have some clearer notion of the causes of the aurora. The circuits of the aurora currents may lie completely within the earth's atmosphere, and have no connection with the fall of potential near the ground. It is also possible that the body of the earth forms a part of the circuit, and if that be the case there must be across different parts of its surface an outward and inward flow of positive electricity. Another view is that the return circuit of the aurora may take place in space outside the earth's atmosphere.

Professor Schuster considers we have not yet arrived at any satisfactory theory of atmospheric electricity, but he gives a short account of some of the principal suggestions. The theory of Edlund made the earth's rotation in space the cause of the separation of positive and negative electricity in the atmosphere, but Edlund's views are untenable in theory. His failure, however, does not deny the possibility of explaining atmospheric electricity as a phenomenon of electro-magnetic induction, and it may be that the rotation of the earth's magnetic field plays a part in the origin of the electric field.

There are several theories suggesting solar radiation as the source. It is easy to imagine a direct thermo-electric or actinic action, but experimental proof is wanting. There is also the Volter theory of evaporation, but Faraday showed years ago that wherever electrification seemed a consequence of evaporation, there was some secondary cause at work, such as the friction of the liquid spray against the sides of the containing vessel. There remains, therefore, the theory that electrification arises from some form of contact or friction, either between drops of water and air, or water and ice, or any two of the various bodies present in the atmosphere. There is considerable probability in such a theory, and it is supported by a certain amount of experimental proof. It is difficult to conceive an experiment by which contact electricity between a solid or liquid and a gas can be proved, but methods have been devised by Leonard and Lord Kelvin which show that there is contact electricity between gases and water.

The professor considers the arctic and antarctic regions the most

promising fields for researches in atmospheric electricity, and urges the importance of polar expeditions, if only on the ground of pure scientific discovery. He also advocates more extended and better organised experiments nearer home. "One of our most crying wants at present is a series of continuous observations by means of self-registering instruments in places where the neighbourhood of a town or other local circumstances do not interfere with the normal changes."

The Total Eclipse of the Sun.—There is little to be said concerning the recent total eclipse of the sun so eagerly awaited by astronomers. A few words of praise and sympathy are, however, due to the three marshalled armies of observers who, equipped with telescopes, spectroscopes, prismatic cameras, polariscopes, and in fact all that is best and latest in astronomical appliances, bent their way to the northern shores of Japan, and the north-eastern coast of Norway, intent on exploring the mysteries of the corona during the precious seconds of totality. At each station of the official expeditions the trained observers were doomed to disappointment, their elaborate plans and preparations being completely foiled at the critical moment by the dense and persistent clouds which obscured the prospect. As the only phenomenon seen was the impressive spectacle of the sweeping advance of the lunar shadow over the earth at a speed of one mile in two seconds, it does not seem likely that the total eclipse of 1896 has given any opportunities of fresh additions to our knowledge of the physical and chemical structure of the corona. Perhaps, however, we should partially suspend judgment on the observations until we have details from some of the individual scientific observers at various other places who have telegraphed success. *Nature*, commenting upon the disappointing circumstance, suggests that the failure of the expedition may after all prove beneficial to astronomy if it arouses astronomers to renew their efforts to devise means by which solar surroundings can be studied and photographed in ordinary daylight, and thereby to emancipate themselves from their dependence on the uncertainties of total eclipse.

Nova et Vetera.

A SYNODAL SERMON IN THE DAYS OF QUEEN MARY.

ALMOST the last Synod of England as a Catholic nation was that which was held in Lambeth in February 1556, under the presidency of Cardinal Pole. England had been reconciled more than two years before to the Catholic Church, and a national Synod was assembled at Lambeth to consolidate the work of restoration. It was an anxious and a critical moment. Although the vast majority of the people joyfully accepted the reconciliation of St. Andrew's Day, 1554, twenty years of schism, and five years of acute Edwardian Protestantism had not been without their result, and the elements of disorder were not wanting. The storm had passed and left the land strewn with ecclesiastical wreckage. Almost the whole of the machinery of the Church had to be reconstructed. If the Catholicism thus happily restored was to be maintained, much tact, prudence, zeal, and strength of purpose were urgently in request.

To Catholic students of history, the whole period of the Marian restoration is one of supreme interest. Besides its pathos as the latest scene in the drama of the national Catholic life, there is not unfrequently in its strange combinations, in its incongruous conditions, in its electrical atmosphere, all the charm of the mysterious and the perplexing. To find the clue to its many problems, one feels a longing desire to go back to the actual time, to speak to the actual people, and live in the actual circumstances. To those who experience something of this curiosity of research, it may be some satisfaction to be able to mentally assist at the last national Synod of Lambeth, and hear all that they would have heard had they been there to listen to the words of the preacher. For this purpose we submit a translation of the opening sermon, preached on that occasion by Dr. Watson, then Dean of Durham, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. It does not contain much that is new or startling, but taken as a whole, and in its general drift, it gives us the keynote of the moment, and furnishes a few of those *indicia* which help us to grasp the religious situation. The translation (which, in view of its historical value, we have made much

more literal than elegant) is taken from the original MS., preserved in the Vatican Archives and hitherto unpublished.* Strangely enough, the manuscript found its way into a volume of papers relating to the Council of Trent, and is bound up with a number of sermons delivered during that assembly. We know that Pole sent the Acts of the Synod of Lambeth to Rome, where they were afterwards published. Dr. Watson's sermon may have gone with them. In whole or part, they may have also gone to Trent, for the decree upon Ecclesiastical Seminaries finally passed in Session xxiii. (c. 18) on the 15th July 1563, was substantially based upon the very decree that Pole had originated in this Synod of Lambeth.†

Those who have read Dr. Watson's sermons on the Seven Sacraments, edited by the Rev. Fr. Bridgett, C.S.S.R., or the interesting biography of Dr. Watson by the same learned writer in the "True Story of the Catholic Hierarchy deposed by Queen Elizabeth," will be already acquainted with practically all that can be gathered of his eventful history. It will suffice to say here that he was born about 1513, was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, went with the rest into schism under Henry VIII., acted as chaplain to Gardiner, and was imprisoned for some time when the latter was cast into the Fleet under King Edward. Under Queen Mary, he was restored to favour, made Master of St. John's in September 1553, Dean of Durham in November of the same year, preached the sermon which we give below in February 1556, was appointed by the Pope, Bishop of Lincoln in March 1557. In 1559, under Elizabeth, he resisted the new changes in religion, was cast into the Tower, was deprived of his See, refused an offer of liberty made to him on condition that he would attend the Protestant services, and was subsequently committed to Wisbeach Castle, and remained there imprisoned for the Faith, until his death in 1584.

According to the extract from Bonner's Register given in Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iv. p. 132, the sermon was preached on February 10, 1556. The prolocutor on that day admonished the members of the Synod to assemble next day in the Parish Church of Lambeth to hear the Provincial Constitutions read over,

which being done, they went to the Chapel in the Manor of the Most Reverend [Legate] where a solemn Mass of the Trinity was celebrated in the presence of the Most Reverend [Legate] the bishops and the

* Concilio di Trento, tom. viii. fol. 79.

† Compare Council of Trent, sess. xxiii. c. 18, De Reformatione, with Pole's Legatine Constitutions Decree 11. The former in many clauses follows the very wording of the latter.

clergy, and a large multitude of the people. After the Mass, a number of prayers were offered, the Most Reverend [Legate] officiating. And then Master Watson, as arranged, delivered a Latin sermon, in which amongst other things he declared the Synod to be prorogued by the Most Reverend [Legate] until the 10th day of the October * following.

While the sermon in its main composition differs but little from similar productions of the same class and period, there are a few noteworthy features which will arrest the attention of the reader.

It begins, after the manner of the time, by including an expanded and adapted sort of bidding prayer, in which is observed the usual order: 1. The Spirituality—viz., the Pope, the Cardinals, and the Episcopate; 2. the Temporality, the Sovereigns and their Council; 3. the Faithful Departed.

The number of scripture quotations interwoven with the text is considerable and evince a marked preference for the Epistles of St. Paul.

There runs through the sermon a sense of anxiety as to the future, and a feeling that sources of danger, although driven beneath the surface, still exist and have to be reckoned and dealt with. There is, moreover, a distinct effort to wind the Bishops up, and inspire them with the courage of their responsibilities. More than once the preacher sounds the note of that policy of strong measures which is so familiarly associated with the reign of Queen Mary. This sermon was preached on February 10. Ridley and Latimer had already perished at the stake in the preceding October. But Cranmer, the arch-heretic, was still in prison awaiting his fate, not without trepidation. He suffered at the stake some six weeks later, March 21, 1556.

The strictures upon the bishops and clergy may be easily understood when we remember that the preacher was addressing an audience, the majority of whom had timidly and weakly conformed under Henry VIII., and more or less even under Edward VI. Catholic and penitent now, they could hardly have looked in each others' faces without recalling strange associations, and the charge of having regarded the loss of souls as something more bearable than the loss of possessions must have gone home to more than one amongst them.

It is pleasing to think that the Catholic awakening of this period, if it came so sadly late, was not quite in vain, and when the storm came again—as the preacher indeed had warned them it might—the Episcopate, with one worthless exception, stood firm, and suffered

* In the MS. of the sermon the date to which the Synod is prorogued is *November 10*. Bonner's Register gives the further prorogation from October 10 to May 10 (Wilkins, iv. 142).

deprivation and imprisonment rather than swerve for a second time from faith and loyalty to the Chair of Peter.

J. MOYES.

SERMON DELIVERED AT THE PROROGATION OF THE
SYNOD, BY THOMAS WATSON, DEAN OF THE CHURCH
OF DURHAM.

MOST REVEREND FATHERS AND BRETHREN, MOST BELOVED IN THE LORD.—As I am about to enter upon the treatment of matters of the gravest moment, may the Lord open to me the door of speech, so that I may say the things which will promote His glory and the good of His Church; and that I may show forth the same as it behoves me to speak, I humbly beseech you at the outset to assist me by your devout prayers.

Let us pray then first of all (as the custom is) for the whole Catholic Church, that the Lord may vouchsafe to grant it peace, to govern and to extend it; for our most holy lord, Pope Paul Fourth, and for the sacred senate of Cardinals ministering to the Lord in the Apostolic Chair, and especially for the most Rev. Lord Reginald here present, Apostolic Legate to this kingdom of England, that by their faithful ministry and stewardship, the Lord may “build up Jerusalem, and gather together the dispersed of Israel.”* And for the most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of York, High Chancellor of this kingdom, for the Reverend Fathers, the Bishops and all pastors of the Church, that they may feed the flock of God “*taking care of it not by constraint, but willingly according to God, not for filthy lucre sake, but voluntarily, neither as lording it over the clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart.*”†

Then let us pray for our most serene Sovereigns, Philip and Mary, that long, happily, and religiously may they guide the helm of this our Commonwealth, so that under their rule we may lead a quiet and tranquil life *in all piety and chastity*; ‡ for all who are in high station, and especially for the Councillors of our Sovereigns, and for the whole people of this realm, that the *Lord may make them worthy of His vocation, and fulfil in them all the good pleasure of His goodness.*§

Finally, let us pray for our brethren departed from this life, and not yet perfectly purified, that the Lord may “grant to them a place of refreshment, light, and peace.”

* Psa. cxlvii. 2.

‡ 1 Tim. ii. 2.

† 1 St. Peter v. 2, 3.

§ 2 Thess. i. 11.

Let us all, therefore, say the Lord's Prayer.

Most Reverend Fathers, and men most illustrious, how great should be the thanks which we ought to feel and to render to the Almighty God, who amid the trials of this most calamitous tempest, by which, according to the just judgment of God, we have been now for many years beset, has at last, being mindful of His mercy, in the hour when all was hopeless, and when we were cast in the very midst of the waves, permitted that we should breathe again, and pass from the deep to a port of safety. Many when they beheld the barque of the Church tossed by the turbulent force of the billows, with its captain Christ Jesus as if asleep, and saw the oarsmen themselves, some succumbing to fatigue and perils, others setting the sail to every wind however adverse, found their hearts sink within them and abandoned all hope of seeing better days. Some, however, turning their eyes to the abyss of God's mercy as their sole resource, and animated with the hope of finding a peaceful haven and the wished-for delivery, drew nigh to the Lord "sleeping on the pillow," and by their faith and by prayers offered with holy importunity have aroused Him, and induced Him to *command the winds and the sea*, so that forthwith *there was made a great calm*.*

The calm, I say, is great and unexpected, but, on account of our coldness and the corrupt bent of our minds carrying our desires athwart, not yet completely still nor free from all commotion. For the *Jebusite still dwells with the children of Juda in Jerusalem even to the present day*.† But that he may go forth, and be cast out of the City of our God, so that he may not trouble the peace and blessedness of the children of God, the Prince of our Army, under our most Beloved High King, Paul the Fourth, I say, by the mercy of God, heir of the Apostles, and Peter in power, laboureth much, and spends effort and thought, and *does the work of an evangelist*.‡ He hears that the pestilential sink of heretical depravity is not yet wholly dried up; he learns that the ancient discipline of the Church has not yet been restored to its pristine state, whence he perceives that the perversion of sound doctrine and the corruption of morals hold still the uppermost place in the minds of many. He endeavours by every means to remedy this evil, whether of recent or of inveterate growth, and to prevent it from spreading more widely. What he cannot effect by his presence, he seeks to do by his authority, wherefore for the extirpation of this corruption he employs the skill, the vigilance, the energy of the Most Reverend

* Mark iv. 39.

† Joshua xv. 63.

‡ 2 Tim. iv. 5.

Father, his Legate, a man most richly endowed with God's gifts, both of nature and of grace. He, in the discharge of a Legation of the most ample powers to this kingdom of England, and assisted by the singular zeal and aid of our most illustrious Sovereigns, for the promotion of religion and of piety, having perceived that now at last by God's goodness, the door to right and manful action, that is, for the restoration of religion, which the case-hardened wickedness of some had long debarred, was thrown open, undertook in this work stupendous labours, and with perseverance, strength, and diligence carried to completion that which was the chief object of the whole enterprise—namely, that the lost sheep straying from the way of Catholic faith, and wandering whither it would by the outpaths of heresy, should hear the voice of the true Shepherd and betake itself back within the enclosure of the sheepfold of the Lord.

This return to the one only Fold of Christ, and to the bosom of our Catholic Mother, must be regarded as a step and an introduction laid down for reducing to order that which remained. For to save our souls, it is necessary not only to be in the House of God, but also to behave ourselves in it as we ought. Those who are *in* the House of God, but *are* not themselves the House of God, or the temples of the Holy Spirit, but are to be purged out as the leaven of malice and wickedness mixed with the mass, cannot draw nigh to the City of the Heavenly Jerusalem and attain to the heritage of the Eternal Father. Wherefore this unity of the Church Militant and mutual concord of members is, as it were, the step by which we ascend to the perfection of the life of the Blessed. Having, therefore, by the mercy of the Almighty God and the piety of the Sovereigns, with the applause of the nobility and the assent of the people, ratified this reconciliation of peace and concord, he (the Legate) proceeds to eradicate the remaining obstacles which stand in the way of true religion and of purity of life. These he perceives to have been, for the last two years, the dearth of the word of God and the impunity of sinful lives. To remove these (in so far as it can be done), he has taken care to call together an assembly or synod out of this most celebrated meeting of Most Reverend Fathers and the priesthood. Grave matters have been long and carefully considered; salutary remedies have been sought and found.

It has been ascertained that the dearth of the Divine word has arisen from the carelessness and negligence of pastors. These for the most part follow their own mind and neglect *reading*,* by which they

* "Till I come, attend unto reading, to exhortation, and to doctrine,"
1 Tim. iv. 13.

may become cultured in the good arts and in the power of preaching, and *doctrine*, by which they may instruct the unlearned in the food of life and the word of truth, and *exhortation*, by which the unstable and wavering may be kept in the way of Christian life. Hence, there are some who absent themselves and keep not their watches over the flock of the Lord committed to them, who see *the wolf coming and fly because they are hirelings*,* and seek the things that are their own, and not the things that are Jesus Christ's,† There are others who indeed are resident, but as dumb dogs are unable to bark, who behold the wolf coming; that is the tyrants who, impelled by lust or malice, lay waste the sheepfold, despoiling the widow and the orphan, and fly as hirelings seduced by the love of gain or terrified by the fear of persecution. Whence? Away from the straight path of justice, from the defence of the Church, from the profession of the Faith. Whither? To the care of the things which they possess, or more truly, of the things by which they are possessed. They act in like manner when the thieves, that is to say, the heretics, by stealthy attack disseminate wicked beliefs, and by their perverse doctrines, infect, as with a pestilential poison, the souls of the people for whom Christ has died. There are, moreover, others who although they are Catholics in their preaching, are heretics in their conduct. For what the heretics do by erroneous doctrines, they do by their bad example. They seduce the people, and furnish the occasion of their ruin, and if I may freely say what I feel, they do so more grievously than the heretics, by the measure in which deeds are stronger than words.

To the correction of these three chief evils the whole energy of this synod up to now has been devoted—namely, that the pastors shall reside with their flocks, and diligently abide with them in watchfulness over them to protect them against the snares of the enemy; that the pastors thus residing with them shall feed the flocks committed to them with sound and salutary doctrine; that the pastors thus feeding the flock shall keep themselves and the people of whatsoever kind who are subject to them in the integrity of morals, and of the discipline which belongs to the spiritual army. By these three steps, we shall attain that every one *holding the mystery of faith in a pure conscience*‡ and walking straightly, according to the traditions which we have received from the Apostles, shall reach the summit and pinnacle of Christian philosophy. Concerning these three things, new canons have not this time been drawn up and passed, but old ones, as far as it has been possible, have been recalled into use.

* John x. 13.

‡ 1 Tim. iii. 9.

† Philipp. ii. 21.

On the first head, namely, residence, that which of old was enacted and sanctioned by the universal Church, has now to be followed, and is set forth to be observed by all. But in cases in which necessity may require, or the common utility of the Church may counsel a departure from this rule, it has been found desirable to make some modification of the general law. For I know that in the Church there have been placed those who are vested with the dispensing power, but for edification and not for destruction. On the other hand, where there is made any remission of the law, which is not urged by necessity, nor commended by utility—I do not say the personal utility of some one, but the utility of the community—such remission may be properly described not as a faithful dispensation but as a cruel dissipation.

As to the second head, concerning doctrine, the matter has been diligently considered, so that according to the ancient canon, *faithful and wise servants may be placed over the Lord's family to give them meat in season*,* and that only those shall preside over others who will benefit them,† who will not *detain the truth of God in injustice*,‡ who will labour with their whole strength that those who are not wise shall become wise, and that those who are wise shall not become foolish, and that those who have become foolish shall return to wisdom, and that those who return shall not be turned away, and that those who are turned away shall come back.§

But seeing that in such a barbarism as that in which we labour at the present moment, in such a dearth of scribes and doctors, and ecclesiastics, there are not forthcoming persons learned and fitting who can be set over the Lord's flock, and feed it not alone with bread but *with every word which proceedeth from the mouth of God*,|| this venerable synod hath provided that the lack of preachers shall be met by the writing of sermons, so that wherever the pastor is unable from his own resources to bedew the hearts of his hearers with the waters of saving wisdom, he shall have under his hands sound doctrine which from writing, as if from public tablets, he can read aloud to the people. By this will be secured a twofold advantage, for by a wise arrangement provision is at once made that there shall be food in the house of God, and at the same time that it shall not be infected with deadly poison, but shall be sound and wholesome. We have not yet

* Matt. xxiv. 45.

† Ut tantum *praesint* illi qui *prosunt* aliis.

‡ Rom. i. 18.

§ The original follows the rhetorical figure popular in the sixteenth century.—“Ut qui non *sapiunt*, *sapiant*, et qui *sapiunt* non *dissipiant*, et qui *dissipere*, *resipiscant*, ut *conversi* non *avertantur*, et *aversi* *revertantur*.”

|| Matt. iv. 4.

forgotten the schism which has passed over, for its memory is still fresh in our minds, when the pastors of Israel have spoken *iniquity on high*,* corrupting both the integrity of the faith, and the chastity of the Church. They transgressed the boundaries which our fathers have laid down, and in matters of faith, of the sacraments, and of the safeguards of Christian life, each one altered, added to, or took away at his own caprice. In books and sermons they showed themselves to be learned framers of falsehood, followers of perverse doctrines, arguing from the faith against the faith, and attacking the law with the words of the law. For they beheld nothing, *as it were, through a glass in a dark manner, but face to face*† seeing all things, and *walking in great matters and in wonderful things above them*,‡ and going beyond their measure, while they affected the wisdom of the Word they made void the power of the cross of Christ. But we who *are not children of withdrawing unto perdition, but of faith to the saving of the soul*,§ we, I say, have no such custom. To the magnitude of this evil this remedy is adopted. One doctrine is prescribed in those things which are to be believed, hoped for, and practised; in it nothing is innovated save that which has been delivered, and all those things which by faith we have received from our fathers, by the faith, are handed down to the sons, of which those who write follow the ancient and Catholic religion, not what they have excogitated, but what they have received; that is to say, they themselves guard the deposit and deliver it to others, avoiding as they would a viper the profane novelty of words, and the contradictions of science falsely so called. By this means the good of the pastors is considered, that they may not distract the flock by contrary teachings, while the good of the people is equally consulted, that wherever the little ones ask for bread there shall be those who shall break it unto them.

The third heading refers to discipline, and much labour has been devoted to the end that the ancient canons in this matter should be wholly restored, and that whatever has lapsed or been impaired by the perversity of the past, should be by the providence of the synod and the diligence of pastors restored to its pristine dignity and vigour. Wherefore, with great pains, have been collected and sanctioned all those things which have been found to relate to the reformation of the conduct of priests, the maintaining of subjects in their duty, the correction of delinquents, and to the severe punishment of the wolves.

And seeing that those who seek or receive, as brethren with us,

* Psal. lxxii. 8.

† Psal. cxxxii. 1.

‡ 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

§ Heb. x. 39.

part in this ministry, are still few and far between, in order that the slow minds of youths may be now at last stimulated to seek this ministry, it has seemed good to the Most Reverend (Legate) to support and maintain at once by the liberality of the clergy, and shortly by means of certain revenues of the Church, a seminary for youth, and not only simply to support them, but to educate them assiduously in the teachings and precepts of this ecclesiastical discipline in the various cathedral churches, so that the piety with which the practice of this discipline imbues the tender minds of youth may grow stronger as it proceeds, and become matured with increasing years; and this earnestness in youth, as in the tender blade, may give promise of how great will be the ripeness of virtue and the fruits of their labour in the days to come.

Finally, there are some other things designed to promote the worship of God, and the safety of the house of God which is the Church, which have been decreed by the authority of this synod, but which it would now be needless to include or consider here in my discourse.

What more now remains for me to say, reverend fathers and most dear brethren in the Lord? Even as the most holy prophet of the Lord, King David, when about to die, admonished his son Solomon, whom the Lord had chosen to sit on the throne of the kingdom of Israel, saying to him, in the presence of the assembled council of the princes of Israel: *Now, therefore, seeing that the Lord hath chosen thee to build the house of the sanctuary, take courage and do it. . . . Act like a man, and take courage and do; fear not, and be not dismayed, for the Lord my God will be with thee, and will not leave thee nor forsake thee, till thou hast finished all the work for the service of the house of the Lord.**

Thus you, Honourable Fathers, since you have met together for the work of rebuilding the Church, will permit me as your son, to urge you in the same words of the prophet: *Now, therefore, seeing that the Lord hath chosen you to build the house of the sanctuary, act like men, take courage and do, fear not, and be not dismayed, for the Lord our God will be with you, and will not leave you or forsake you, until you have finished all the work for the service of the House of the Lord.* Behold the ranks of priests and Levites in every ministry of the House of God assist you, and are ready to do all that you will command them. After you have maturely deliberated the time has come for action. As before proceeding to action, it is fitting to consider, so after consideration it is necessary to act, and it is shameful when once with great hopes you have begun a work, not to

* 1 Para. xxviii. 10, 20.

carry it through to the end. This, therefore now remains to demand our co-operation that the laws shall be obeyed, *but you who have begun not only to do, but also to be willing a year ago; now, therefore, perform ye it also in deed, that as your mind is forward to be willing, so it may be also to perform out of that which you have.** And in so much as St. Paul has spoken thus concerning alms to be distributed to the poor, consider that this, Fathers, is the highest of all forms of almsgiving, by your zeal to bring about and restore peace to this kingdom, to give instruction to the children of the household, order to the churches, discipline to the clergy, and to God *a people acceptable and pursuer of good works.†* Do then this act of mercy to the spouse of Christ, and in God you will re-find it.

And as I have begun, I would say something further to my lords. Imitate that valiant woman described by Solomon, that is to say, *put out your hands to strong things, and let your fingers take hold of the spindle.‡* To discuss by your counsel useful and salutary matters of the Church, and then not to carry them into effect, what will it profit you save the labour? Consideration first, then action, finally results; that is the right order. But to give up after beginning, what else is it but to move and not go forward, to be in labour and not to give birth, to undertake and at once to break down, to attempt and to abandon? and (as the prophet sayeth) *children are come to the birth, and there is no strength to bring forth.§*

Therefore take heed to yourselves and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost has placed you bishops, to rule the Church of God which He hath purchased by His blood.|| You take heed to yourselves when *you refrain yourselves from all appearance of evil,¶* for it closely concerns your perfection that you should avoid not merely things which are evil, but even the very appearance of evil. In the first you have to consider your conscience, in the second your reputation. It becomes the minister of the Lord to imitate the Lord. For of Him it is written: *The Lord hath reigned; He is clothed with beauty. The Lord is clothed with strength.*** Be therefore beautiful in good report and strong in true faith. For your beauty is the splendour of your fair name, while your strength is the trust of a good conscience. Wherefore take care that in your reputation there be not the breath of evil report, nor in your conscience the wavering weakness of littleness of faith. Further than this I will not trouble you longer. In

* 2 Cor. viii. 10, 11.

† Prov. xxxi. 19.

‡ Acts xx. 28.

† Tit. ii. 14.

§ Isaiah xxxvii. 3.

¶ 1 Thess. v. 22.

** Psal. xcii. 1.

former days and before your time, there were those who devoted themselves wholly to the feeding of the flock, who gloried in the name and the work of a shepherd, who shrunk from nothing, save only that which was hurtful to the common good, who sought not the things which were their own, but rather spent that which was theirs—spent their solicitude, spent their substance, spent themselves. Thence, St. Paul, one of these, sayeth, *and I will [spend and], be spent myself for your souls.** As often as it was necessary they preached the gospel without cost. Their only thought was for the souls committed to them, and how to *prepare unto the Lord a perfect people.†* They gave themselves wholly to toil in this work, *in labour and painfulness, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness.‡* Where now shall we find such earnestness and solicitude? Truly the earnestness and solicitude are still to be seen—but turned in a different direction. Ecclesiastical zeal burns for the maintenance of dignity, for the recovery of lands. This, in our present position, I cannot much blame, but nevertheless we must take care that the more important things of the law are done, while these are not omitted. I pray you *bear with me a little while and suffer me; I am jealous of you with a good jealousy.§* I speak to the shame of some who would rather endure the loss of souls, than the loss of goods. *Why, says St. Paul, do you not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded? ||* This transference of care and solicitude from spiritual to temporal things is a source of scandal to many who perceive that those who teach others, fail to teach themselves, and set greater price upon themselves than upon theirs. *From this appearance of evil refrain yourselves.¶* Lay to heart those words of the Saviour: *You are the light of the world.*** For just as the people are wont to be injured by the avarice and vices of their pastors, so are they corrected and made better by the uprightness and continence of the same. What a work of ruin to the Christian commonweal is wrought by bad priests, who not only themselves bring forth vices, but infuse them into the people and do harm not only by being themselves corrupt, but also by corrupting others by their sin, and still more by their example. In this respect you ought to *take heed to yourselves*: but your next care must be *to take heed to the whole flock.††* Moreover, whoever of you hath obtained part of this ministry ‡‡ *keep the good thing committed to your trust §§* that

* 2 Cor. xii. 15.

† 2 Cor. xi. 27.

‡ 1 Cor. vi. 7.

** Matt. v. 14.

†† Acts i. 17.

† Luke i. 17.

§ 2 Cor. xi. 1.

¶ 1 Thess. v. 22.

‡‡ Acts xx. 28.

§§ 2 Tim. i. 14.

was not redeemed with corruptible things as gold and silver, but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb unspotted and undefiled.* It is a city, see that you watch to guard it; it is a spouse, see that you adorn her; it is a flock, see that you feed it. As a city, it has to be protected from the might of tyrants, from the deceit of heretics. As a spouse, it has to be bedecked with good works and virtuous life. As a flock, it has to be nourished in the pastures of the Scriptures and with the food of sound doctrine. And in doing so, this method must be observed, that to little ones shall be given the milk of exhortation, that to the hard of heart shall be given commandments, and to the healthy and tried souls shall be given the strong and solid food of the counsels [of perfection]. For the guarding of the city, there is need of a man strong and wise; strong to repel assaults, wise to discover the snares of the enemy. Not many years have gone by since the voice of the whirlwind was heard in our land and we have seen iniquity and contradiction in the city.† But the Lord who is rich in mercy, has caused judgment to be heard from heaven : the earth trembled and was still.‡ For the Lord has not left the rod of sinners upon the lot of the just, that the just may not stretch forth their hands to iniquity.§ Then let us sing to the Lord ; for he is gloriously magnified : the horse and the rider he hath thrown into the sea.|| And if the Lord as a just judge, on account of the multitude of our sins, should permit another tempest to arise in the city, be valiant in battle, and strive by the pious importunity of persevering prayer to move the heart of the most merciful Father, that to those who are labouring He may vouchsafe to send help from his Holy place, and may make you like the Prophet Jeremiah a pillar of iron, a wall of brass over all the land,¶ that the enemies of the Lord of Hosts shall not prevail. Count not therefore your lives more precious than yourselves,** not accepting deliverance that you may find a better resurrection.†† Such is the strength which becomes the Athlete of Christ in the keeping of the city. But insomuch as the hour of danger is not now approaching, but passing away, when the fraud, deceitfulness, and violence of the heretics waxed strong in the land, there is need that you warriors of Christ should be wise in discovering the snares of these little foxes‡‡ and strong in defeating them when discovered. With this, the worst kind of fools, there must be no overlooking, no delaying, no conniving.

* 1 Peter i. 18, 19.

† Psal. lxxv. 9.

‡ Exod. xv. 1.

** Acts xx. 24.

† Psal. liv. 10.

§ Psal. cxxiv. 3.

¶ Jeremiah i. 18.

†† Heb. xii. 35.

‡‡ Cantic. ii. 15.

For they are both deceived and deceivers, dogs for division, foxes for fraud. It must, therefore, be your chief care that they shall be corrected, lest they themselves perish, or punished lest others should perish. Everywhere amongst us this plague is spreading and openly is raging, and publicly and from all parts it threatens to destroy the little ones of the Church; verily almost the entire Catholic Church is attacked by this poison. *Put away the evil one from amongst yourselves.** Let the censures of the Church bind the enemies of the Cross of Christ, lest *while they sit in ambush with the rich, in private places, they may kill the innocent.†* Here be vigilant, ye watchmen of Israel, and let your compassion and your indignation keep you alert. You owe your compassion to the people who are deceived; your indignation to their heretical deceivers. You are debtors to both. You must shield the one, you must repress the other. Therefore take your staves in your hands that you may smite the wolf, that you may sharply reprove the wicked and obdurate, and if need be, wield the weapon of excommunication. In such wise, the City of God must be valiantly and wisely guarded from the cruelty of the lion and the cunning of the dragon.

With like care, the spouse of Christ is to be adorned with good works and good morals, and to this adornment who does not clearly see that the most essential condition is the enforcement of discipline. To this work nearly the whole of the labours of this Synod have been devoted. Then let judgment begin from the House of God. Holiness, modesty, virtue, beseech the house of the priest. The guardian of these is discipline. If priests are not more modest than others, they become a by-word in the mouths of all. Hence, let discipline rule desire, direct action, check errors, so that nothing may remain in their life uncorrected, or needing correction. All the more on this account is to be condemned the exceeding great carelessness in this most important consideration. For impunity is the offspring of neglect, the mother of insolence, the root of impudence, the nurse of transgressions. Then by the vigilance of all must be avoided this carelessness which is the fountain of so many evils. And if, for the whole of a diocese, the energy and zeal of a single man, however watchful and diligent, should not suffice, let there be associated with him others to share his labours, such as chancellors, archdeacons, who shall be on the spot; men who are tried, not neophytes; who fear nothing but the Lord and hope nothing but from God, subject to discipline, inflexible in judgment, who spurn not, but teach the masses, who flatter not the rich but cause them to fear; who burthen not but foster the poor,

* 1 Cor. v. 13.

† Psa. x. 8.

who sharply punish men of bad will and render retribution to the proud. Who will grant us to live and to behold such men acting everywhere as the eyes and hands of the bishop!

But passing from the clergy, what shall I say of the people? The English are a race, impetuous and brave, for a long time now unaccustomed to peace, and therefore a stiff-necked people. Nevertheless, do not lose heart. It is the care, not cure that is required of you.* Christ said, *Take care of him.*† He did not say “cure him” or “heal him.” Each one will receive his reward according to his labour, not according to results. Do your part and God will see to that which is His part without your being anxious about it. Plant and water and weed, and you have done your part. God—not you—will give the increase where He wills and when it seems good to Him. And what if the heart of this people should be hardened, *God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham.*‡ . *Who can tell if God will turn and forgive,§ and will return and will heal them?*

I will not, Reverend Fathers, detain you longer. No more is needed for the admonition of the wise, for as it is written, *Give occasion to a wise man and wisdom shall be added to him.*|| Your care now, above all things, must be that in the clergy order shall be maintained, discipline shall be on the watch, and that ecclesiastical censures shall be put in force against false doctrines; and finally, that the decrees that have been passed in this your Synod, shall be observed with all due vigilance, so in the field of the Lord nothing shall be left by neglect untilled, or by fraud overgrown. If you should be negligent, there are those who will uproot that which your right hand has planted. It is vain to decree what is not to be observed, or to dissimulate when it is not observed, for that is to forbid and not restrain, and to impose a penalty which is never inflicted. If this is tolerated it is only left to our Mother, the Church, to bewail, *Behold in peace is my bitterness most bitter.*¶ Bitter first in the slaying of the martyrs, more bitter next in the struggle with the heretics, most bitter last of all in the conduct of the members of the household *whom I have brought up as children and exalted, and they have despised me.*** I trust that your prudence will diligently provide that this shall not come to pass. And in case there should still be found remaining things which in this Synod have not been discussed and settled, and

* *Exigitur a vobis cura non curatio. Christus dixit curam illius habere; non dixit cura vel sana illum. Unusquisque secundum suum laborem accipiet, non secundum eventum. Facite quod vestrum est, et Deus quod suum est, absque vestra anxietate curabit.*

† Luke x. 35.

‡ Jon. iii. 9.

¶ Isaiah xxxviii. 17.

† Matt. iii. 9.

|| Prov. ix. 9.

** Isaiah i. 2.

which pertain to the keeping of the City, the adornment of the Spouse and the feeding of the Flock, it has seemed good to the most Reverend Lord Legate not to altogether dismiss or dissolve the Synod at this moment, but to defer and prorogue it to the tenth day of November next, so that in the interval we may reap some fruit from its labours, and what is either now begun and left off for a time, or what is yet wanting to the beauty of the Spouse, may be further decided in our coming deliberations. We implore, therefore, the Great and Good God that as *He hath begun this good work in you, He will perfect it unto the day of Christ Jesus* * to whom be honour, praise, and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

* Philipp. i. 6.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Dr. Gregory on the Physical Geography of East Africa.—

Perhaps the most interesting portion of Dr. Gregory's valuable volume* is comprised in the chapters on the geological changes to which he ascribes the present conformation of the country traversed by him. Traces of recent volcanic action abounded everywhere, in the number of extinct or semi-extinct craters studding the surface, in the dislocation of the strata, and in the extensive covering of ancient lavas spread over vast extents of what was heretofore regarded as alluvial plain. The Great Rift Valley, to the examination of which his journey was mainly directed, owes its origin to the earth movements resulting from these outflows, its trough-like formation being due to the subsidence of a strip of country along the axis of disturbance, where the copious discharge of igneous matter drained away from the interior left vast voids beneath the foundations of the upper crust. This singular feature is traced along the double series of chasm-like lake valleys in Africa, containing, in its western branch, Lakes Albert, Tanganyika, and Nyassa; and in its eastern, Lakes Rudolf, Stephanie, Baringo, and Naivasha; while its northerly prolongation forms the great trench of the Red Sea, continued by the Gulf of Akaba to the sunken floor of the Dead Sea and Jordan Valley.

All along the line [Dr. Gregory tells us] the natives have traditions of great changes in the structure of the country. The Arabs tell us that the Red Sea is simply water that did not dry up after Noah's deluge. The Somali say that when their ancestors crossed from Arabia to Africa there was a land connection between the two, across the Straits of Babel Mandeb. The natives of Ujiji, at the southern end of the line, have a folk-lore that goes back to the time when Lake Tanganyika was formed by the flooding of a fertile plain, rich in cattle and plantations. And at the northern end of the valley we have the account of the destruction of the towns of Sodom and Gomorrah.

Two giant warders, Kilima Njaro and Kenya, guard the eastern flank of the African Rift Valley, standing out as the most conspicuous summits of a well-marked volcanic chain. The author made a systematic exploration of the latter, ascending it to a height of over

* "The Great Rift Valley," by J. W. Gregory. London: John Murray. 1896.

17,000 feet, and examining the great glaciers sent down from its central snows. These, he concluded from the evidence of an old moraine, once descended 5400 feet below their present level, arguing a considerable change in the climate and meteorology of the district, probably, he thinks, in the direction of diminished rainfall and extension of regions of aridity.

Rehabilitation of the Zanzibari.—Dr. Gregory is one of the few travellers who has a good word to say for the much abused Zanzibari porter, who, whatever his faults and shortcomings, has alone rendered the exploration of Africa possible. The author, perhaps because he treated them with kindly human sympathy, talking to them by the camp-fires, and entering into their concerns, found them much more manageable than other travellers, and narrates of them not a few instances of devoted and heroic self-sacrifice. The headman, on one occasion on a waterless march, handed his scanty share of water to a porter who was more in want of it than himself, and quoted Stanley's example as his incentive to doing so. "I have seen Bula Matadi do the same thing lots of times, and if he could do it, Inshallah! so can I." Another man, when the expedition was on half-rations, regularly saved up half his allowance to add to Dr. Gregory's, as the latter discovered only by chance. A porter will often sacrifice his life rather than abandon his load, responsibility for which is the first article in his ethical code. They will refuse, on the other hand, to do the most trifling service in camp as outside their contract, if peremptorily desired to perform it, although they will often comply with a request to do so. Disregard of their *punctilio* in this respect probably leads to many quarrels with their employers. The author had not a single case of desertion, and but two of flogging, while those who advocate the use of the cowhide as the only effectual system of management, are sometimes abandoned by their entire following. A joke will often avert mischief, while injustice is bitterly resented and often leads to mutiny. The Zanzibari are adepts in camp work, and each does his share. "Tents were up, water and wood brought, fires lighted, and cooking done as if by magic." Their faults, on the other hand, are extremely irritating. Among them is reckless improvidence, causing them to consume their rations in prodigal quantity when first served out to them, leaving themselves half starving at the end of the term for which they are intended. They are liable, again, to paroxysms of passion, in which they are hardly accountable for their actions, and have to be humoured and coaxed like children.

Dr. Gregory parted from his men with genuine regret, "and the

remembrance of occasional disagreements sank into insignificance in comparison with the long record of ready obedience, willing self-sacrifice, and personal devotion."

Trade with East Africa.—The Foreign Office Report on the trade of Zanzibar contains the discouraging statement that British manufactures are continually losing ground in East African markets. The demand there, except in the case of American piece goods, which hold their own despite their high price, is in general for the cheapest goods, irrespective of quality, and in the production of these Great Britain cannot compete with her Continental neighbours. The foreign firms, too, are more energetic in advertising their wares, forwarding samples and price-lists of any likely to find sale. In attention to trifles the British are also behindhand, and neglect the perfect uniformity demanded by native fastidiousness in the externals of favourite articles. Coils of brass wire, for instance, are expected always to be in one piece, and of equal length, with an invariable number in the case; each piece of cloth should be identical in length and width; and each bar of soap divisible into the same number of pieces. In piece goods, America holds the first place, having been the earliest in the market with a species of unbleached cloth, known all over Africa as "merikani," and forming the recognised currency through great part of the continent. This quality of cloth is better than any produced in Manchester at the same price, being free from sizing, and consequently not liable to shrink in washing, a superiority fully recognised by the natives. It is invariable in weight and measurement, 30 yards always scaling $9\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Bombay comes next with a cheaper and inferior cloth, but the natives are satisfied to pay a higher price for American than for British goods even of the same quality, and the former have a practical monopoly of the market.

A Year's Statistics of India.—The Official Report on the condition of India for the past year is headed "Statement of the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India during the Year 1894-95," but progress in some departments seems counterbalanced by retrogression in others. The most important improvement was in the revenue returns, which increased by over $3\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling, while the increase in expenditure was only a little over $1\frac{1}{4}$ million, the net result being a surplus of Rx. 693,110, obtained in the face of an increase in the loss on exchange. The land revenue, on the other hand, shows a slight falling off; and it is stated, though not on official

authority, that in the year 1893-94 there were in Madras 209,517 notices out for sales of property of defaulters under this head, and 14,198 proprietors actually sold out. The export of wheat shows a progressive decline, the figure for 1894-95 being but 345,000 tons, as compared with 608,000, 749,000, and 1,515,000 for the three preceding years. American competition is the factor that determines this diminution in the proportion of the British food supply drawn from India. The reverse has taken place in regard to the tea exports, which have increased, owing mainly to the substitution of Indian for Chinese tea in the English market. The latter is now only dealt in there to the amount of 16 per cent. of the total import, India sending 46 and Ceylon 32 per cent.; while in 1865 we took 93 per cent. of our supply from China, and no more than 2 and 1 per cent. respectively from India and Ceylon. The debt of India held in England had increased by £1,897,034, while that held in India had declined £3,208,626, leaving the total debt, on which the country has to pay interest, over 218 million sterling. The railways, which form the subject of a special Blue Book, had a mileage increased during the year by $3\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., and showed an increase of nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their net earnings. Some seven millions more of passengers were transported, but the goods conveyed were nearly 200,000 tons less. Over half a million acres are under irrigation, but the return on capital outlay in this direction is very small, only a fractional percentage being paid. An addition of 260,000 acres will be made to the irrigation area by the Jamrao Canal, the construction of which was sanctioned and commenced in the year under review. Partly in the Hyderabad district, and partly in those of Thar and Parkar, it will form a complete irrigation system, with a total length of $117\frac{1}{2}$ miles, one main branch of $65\frac{3}{4}$ miles, and $374\frac{1}{2}$ miles of minor branches termed distributaries. Its cost is estimated at over seven lakhs of rupees.

Irrigation in Egypt.—Mr. H. T. Crook, in an interesting paper published in Vol. XI. of the *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society*, describes the various plans under consideration for the improved distribution of the waters of the Nile, with the object of extending the cultivable areas of Egypt. The boundary of the latter is absolutely fixed by the limit of irrigation, the ribbon of fertile land forming a green selva to the channel of the Nile, being so definitely marked off by the cessation of the water supply, that it is possible to stand with one foot in a luxuriant field of grain and the other in the sand of the desert. Irrigation is conducted on two different systems—one that of basins, areas of from twelve to seventy square miles,

into which the country is divided by embankments in order to utilise the fertilising flood brought down by high Nile; the other, called perennial or artificial irrigation, consisting of a network of canals, by which the water is continuously distributed throughout the year, a reserve being created by storage. The second prevails through Lower Egypt, synonymous with the Delta of the Nile; the former in Upper Egypt, or the strip of 500 miles from Cairo to Assuan. The object of the reforms now proposed is the assimilation of the systems in both divisions of the country by the extension of perennial irrigation to the upper portion of the Nile Valley. Its superiority is shown by the much higher proportion of land bearing a double crop in the districts which enjoy its benefits, roughly represented by the figures of 25 and 70 per cent., applicable respectively to Upper and Lower Egypt. Perennial irrigation requires, however, a large outlay on costly embankments, in order to equalise the supply of water throughout the year by storing up the summer surplus. The achievement of this in the Delta by the restoration and completion of the barrage of the Nile at its apex, is the greatest triumph of English hydraulic engineering in Egypt, as the deterioration of the Delta lands during recent years was due to the imperfection of its original construction, rendering it inadequate to the retention of the accumulated flood water of high Nile.

Proposed Nile Reservoir.—The creation of a colossal reservoir in Upper Egypt for a similar purpose, is the problem the solution of which is tasking the resources of the experts in irrigation. The scale of the work required is illustrated by Mr. Crook, by comparison with the Thirlmere basin for the water supply of Manchester. Taking the capacity of the latter at 300 days' supply, at the rate of 26 million gallons a day, he finds that 98 such basins would be required to contain the 797,000 million gallons required to supplement the deficiency of low Nile in Upper Egypt. The fall of the Nile being only 1 in 11,000, it is obvious that a comparatively low embankment will create a vast reservoir, and since the construction of the lower part of a dam is the most expensive part of the work, while every additional foot of height will, under these circumstances, give a great extension to the area of the basin at comparatively little cost, the advantage of a single embankment over two or more is self-evident. Of the proposed sites, that of Assuan, or rather the rocky barrier of the First Cataract, just below the island of Philae, alone fulfils the necessary conditions of safety, economy, and efficiency. As the water of the Nile in flood is so heavily charged with sediment that it would silt up even so vast a

reservoir in seventy years, the dam must be provided with sluice gates which would be raised at that season, allowing the whole flood water to run down as it does now. At the end of October, when the water has cleared, it would be partially impounded by the closing of the sluices, but never so completely as not to leave sufficient water for navigation.

The practical advantages of a plan which it is calculated would produce a gain to the country of £6,225,000E per annum, are counter-balanced in the eyes of archæologists by the total or partial submergence of the island of Philæ which it would entail. Even the modification of the original project, proposed in deference to their remonstrances, would scarcely satisfy their views, while it would cost Egypt in water supply for irrigation, the difference between 816,706 and 198,656 million gallons, a loss of 618,050 million gallons. According to a correspondent of the *Times*, even with the reduced height of the embankment, the Temple of Isis would, for nearly two months of every year, stand reflected in the surface of the lake, washing to within a few feet of the base of its walls.

To the south [says the writer] the colonnade will be dry, except perhaps at its extreme end, where the earliest of the works the Philæ builders erected, a shrine to Hathor. Here a thin film of water will soak among the fallen blocks and over the quay wall. North of the Temple, most of the labyrinth of brick constructions will be submerged, and nothing will show conspicuously on the eastern side except the shafts, abaci, and architraves of Phaoroh's Bed, submerged nearly to the top of the intercolumnar screen.

It seems a pity that the interests of the living and the dead Egypt cannot be reconciled by the discovery of some equally eligible site higher up than the silent sepulchre of Osiris.

Great Tidal Wave in Japan.—The disastrous tidal wave by which 30,000 human beings perished on the eastern seaboard of Japan, on the night of June 15, is believed to have been of submarine origin, and to have been caused by some disturbance of the ocean-bed near the southern edge of the Great Tuscarora Deep. The mountainous wave raised by it, 80 feet in height at its culminating points, rushed along a coast line, 300 miles in length, submerging all the low-lying lands, and engulfing the towns and villages standing on them. The death-roll was rendered heavier by the fact that the calamity occurred at 8 P.M., when the inhabitants, who rise with the dawn, were nearly all asleep. Neither were there any premonitory warnings of the impending rise of the sea, although it was said to

have been preceded in some places by slight tremors of the soil. At sea it was scarcely perceptible, and fishermen returned unaware of any unusual occurrence, to find, perhaps, their families and dwellings annihilated. In one prefecture, 4000 houses were swept out to sea by the reflux of the wave, which left the fields strewn with dead fish, furnishing a welcome meal to many of the survivors. The disturbance causing the catastrophe was felt, according to Professor Milne, of Newport, by the instruments in Europe. These, both in Italy and the Isle of Wight, showed symptoms of agitation at 8 p.m. on June 15, which culminated on the following morning. As they were quiescent on the 17th, the date at first incorrectly given by some of the despatches as that of the tidal wave, Professor Milne asserted, on their evidence, the erroneous character of the information, before it had been corrected, and now cites this fact as a proof of the reliability of the records of earth movements thus obtained. Few accounts have been obtained by eye-witnesses of the catastrophe, but the experiences of one fishing boat, which was sufficiently near the land to have been within the area of the commotion are recorded. A sound like the booming of a gun preceded the approaching wave, seen approaching in the distance. The fishermen began to pull in their nets and make for land, but were overtaken by it, and lifted on its crest without capsizing. The onrushing wave broke into two before reaching the coast, on which it swept with a noise like thunder, leaving the sea so disturbed that the fishermen judged it prudent to spend the night at sea. On landing next day, they found a clean sweep had been made of all villages and habitations. An account from Kuji says that a sharp shock of earthquake was first felt, followed after the lapse of a quarter of an hour, by a rumbling sound, which, at first very faint, gradually swelled into a terrific roar coming from the sea. A tidal wave, 50 feet high, then came on, penetrating, in a few seconds, to a distance of two miles from the beach, and leaving the district, when it retired, converted into a bare sandy desert, with the ruins of houses strewn about the surface. Another narrative in a Japanese paper says that a dense fog had covered the sea from 11 A.M., followed at 5 in the afternoon by a heavy fall of rain, lasting over two hours. At the same time faint sounds like distant thunder were heard, and slight shocks of earthquake felt. About half-past eight these preliminary symptoms of disturbance were followed by a loud roar, like that of a violent wind in a forest, and the cry of "Tidal wave! tidal wave!" was heard from the beach. In a moment, houses, trees, and fields were submerged beneath a wave 20 feet high, and a mass of human beings, men, women, and children, were seen struggling in the water, victims of the universal calamity.

Travels of Mrs. Bishop.—The *Times* of August 17 gives a summary from a Shanghai paper of Mrs. Bishop's latest journey through remote regions of Southern China. Starting from Shanghai on January 10 of this year, she took steamer up the Yang-tse as far as Ictang, travelled for 300 miles farther up the river by houseboat to Wanh sien, and thence for an equal distance by chair to Pao-ning in Szechuen. A rich and fertile country, with handsome and substantial farmhouses, was passed through, coal, and in some places salt, being produced in great abundance. The people were everywhere bitterly hostile to the foreigners, and in Kuanhsien she was attacked with stones by the mob, receiving a wound from which she suffered for a considerable time. The plain of Cheng-tu, in which this town stands, is irrigated throughout by a branch of the Min, diverted to it and distributed over its surface in very ancient times by a man to whom a splendid temple has been erected. Her journey across this plain occupied eleven days. She succeeded, despite official opposition, in penetrating into the country of the Mantsze, whom she found to be independent tribes, though tributary to China. She describes them as a handsome people, of Caucasian type, living in high, castellated stone houses. They were very friendly and hospitable, and she characterises their country as a mixture of Switzerland and Kashmir. They are Buddhists by religion, and rigid in the practice of the observances of their creed.

Dr. Nansen and the Polar Basin.—Dr. Nansen, although he failed to reach the Pole itself, has at least been three degrees nearer to it than any other human being, having attained the unprecedented latitude of $86^{\circ} 14' N.$ Leaving the "Fram" in latitude 84° and longitude $102^{\circ} E.$, he and his companion, Lieutenant Schott-Hansen, proceeded northward over the pack, with snow-shoes, kayaks or native canoes, sledges, and dogs. Ice, interrupted by patches of water, was seen everywhere, and when the obstacles became too great for further progress, they turned southward and reached Franz Josef Land, where they went into winter quarters at the end of August. No land was seen north of that archipelago, but some unknown islands were discovered and their position laid down. The Polar basin was found, contrary to conjecture, to deepen northward, attaining a depth of 3800 metres, and its temperature rose appreciably below 190 metres, probably from the influence of the Gulf Stream. The north-westerly current, which the explorer reckoned on to bear him to high latitudes, answered his expectations, although its course lay somewhat farther to the south than he had calculated. His exploration to within 270

miles of the Pole disposes of the theory that it was surrounded by shallow seas, as well as the idea that any large continental mass exists in its vicinity. His journey, happily ended in his relief by Mr. Jackson, is one of the most extraordinary episodes in the history of adventure.

Franz Josef Land and Spitzbergen.—The latter traveller's systematic exploration of Franz Josef Land has also produced valuable results. In a perilous voyage in a small boat, during the autumn of 1895, he examined the western coast, including a previously unknown extension in that direction. Its mighty promontories are glazed with ice from base to summit, and vast glaciers send bergs crashing into the sea. Exploration in the spring was impeded by the phenomenal mildness of the season, as sledging was stopped by open water in all directions.

Sir Martin Conway and his party, which includes Dr. Gregory, have succeeded in crossing Greenland for the first time. Starting from Sassen Bay on the west coast on July 11, they reached the head of the main valley through bogs and flooded rivers on the fourth day. Turning up a lateral valley they came on the second day to the mountainous moraine of a shrunken glacier. The head of the valley was blocked by a great glacier three miles wide, which they succeeded in crossing to its eastern edge, descending the cliff of ice in which it ends within a mile of the sea, at the only practicable point. Sir Martin has named the pass "The Ivory Gate," and the view from it is described as magnificent. The weather was atrocious, downpours of rain being varied by hurricanes and fogs.

Notices of Books.

A Memoir of Father Dignam, S.J., with some of his letters. Revised and with preface by Father EDWARD IGNATIUS PURBRICK, S.J. Printed for the Poor Servants of the Mother of God, the Convent, Brentford, London. 8vo, pp. 472.

HE above is a record of a saintly priest and devoted religious, to whom our gratitude is due for his strenuous work in propagating the Apostleship of Prayer among us, as well as for his share in founding the Congregation of Religious women, under whose auspices this memoir has been compiled.

It is superfluous for us to praise Father Dignam, for the authentic voice of the General of the Society of Jesus has already pronounced his eulogium; while "his children rise up and call him blessed." His spiritual letters are the most valuable part of the book; they are saturated with the spirit of St. Ignatius, and are full of practical wisdom and holy teaching. Perhaps the most touching and beautiful side of this holy life was his relations with his elder sister, to whom he seems to have owed his vocation, and whom he afterwards repaid a hundredfold by guiding her soul towards spiritual perfection. One is, in fact, irresistibly reminded of the story of St. Benedict and his virgin sister and spiritual child, St. Scholastica. Some of Fr. Dignam's letters to this sister, in her cloister at Bruges, are wonderful instances of the way in which the servants of God know how to spiritualise human affection, and raise the tenderest earthly ties to a higher sphere.

His life may be summed up in his intense devotion to the Holy Sacrifice—"Mass is my life, without Mass I must die," he would say: and in fact he lingered on for a very few days only after his last Mass.

We cordially recommend to our readers this sympathetic presentation of a very beautiful life.

Popular Instructions on Marriage. By Very Rev. FERREOL GIRARDEY, C.S.S.R., Provincial of the St. Louis Province. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1896.

THE reader who takes up this little book will find that it has been written by a theologian who thoroughly understands the wants of the people, and who knows how to put important truths in a lucid and attractive manner. The instructions are well suited to verify the expectations of the author, viz., to remove the levity and ignorance of married and unmarried people regarding the holy sacrament of marriage, which make so many people unhappy both here and hereafter. Chapters I., II., III. and IV. are useful for everybody, and might be used in public instructions, also chapter V., though its title ("How to get married") and its opening sentence seem to confine it to those only who are contemplating marriage. Chapters VI., VII. and VIII. treat on the duties of married people towards each other and towards their children. The book might be given as a present to married people, or such who are near their marriage. In spite of the "Rule of life for the young," given in one of the seven appendices, we do not think that the experienced author wishes it to be placed in the hands of very young people, on account of some passages which, though necessary for the married and spoken of with great prudence and delicacy, might be less fitted for the young.

L. N.

Jesus: His Life in the very words of the Four Gospels.

A Diatessaron. By HENRY BEAUCLERK, Priest of the Society of Jesus. London: Burns & Oates. 1896. (xii. 234 pp.). 5s. Quarterly series. Vol. 39.

THIS little volume, which takes its title from the work of Tatian, a Syrian writer of the second century, embodies the same idea as that ancient harmony. It gives the life of our Lord in the words of the Evangelists, not as in Fr. Coleridge's "Life of our Life," by putting the parallel texts side by side, but by connecting them in one uniform narrative. Every discourse and every event told in the four Gospels is recorded; and wherever the same event is mentioned by two or more Evangelists, that account has been chosen which is fullest or most circumstantial. The margin shows us at a glance by which Evangelists the events have been recorded; while the marks Mt, Mk, Lk, Jn, inserted in the text, show exactly from which of them the selected passage is taken, without in the least distracting the ordinary reader. For the preacher the indexes at the end will be a

great help towards finding the place which gives him the fullest account of any event or discourse contained in the gospels. But we think that the book will be even more useful to the general public. Every Christian who reads anything ought to read from time to time a short life of our Lord; and every one ought to be acquainted with the holy gospels. Now, this little volume puts before us the gospel narrative in a complete and continuous form, and so tells the life of our Lord without repetition or omission, while its low price makes it easily accessible. If we are allowed to make a suggestion, we should ask that in the next edition the titles given on pages vii. to xi. might be reproduced on the margin of the text, so that the reader may know beforehand the subject of the lives which follow.

L. N.

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

By EDWARD GIBBON. Edited in Seven Volumes by J. B. BURY, M.A. Vol. I. London: Methuen & Co. 1896.

THERE could be no greater proof of the fascination of Gibbon's style than the fact that fresh editions of his work should still be called for, despite the discredit thrown by subsequent research on his conclusions, and on the general colouring given by him to the events he narrates. Modern criticism, in exploding the view that the history of the Eastern Empire was "one uniform tale of weakness and misery," has cut away the foundation on which the latter half of his work was built up, and shown how entirely the prejudice of a partisan obscured in his mind the great part played by Byzantium in the evolution of Europe. His latest editor, Mr. Bury, while apparently sympathising with Gibbon's attitude towards religion, confesses that it is now out of date, and that no discreet inquirer would go to him for his ecclesiastical history. "Yet [he goes on] we need not hide the fact that Gibbon's success has in a large measure been due to his scorn for the Church; which, most emphatically expressed in the theological chapters, has, as one might say, spiced the book." Yet these are the chapters which seem most inadequate to the modern spirit, and whose triumphant irony rings falsest on the modern ear. This first instalment of the new edition carries the reader from the opening chapters with their general view of the Empire under the Cæsars, to its reunion under Constantine, 324 A.D. The general value and intelligibility of the work as a history is much enhanced by the insertion of dates at frequent intervals on the margins, as well as by a chronological table of contents. The discovery in the older editions of Gibbon of the date of any event was a task which was

always tedious and often hopeless. The map of the Roman Empire in 180 A.D., which fronts the title-page, is also a useful illustration of the text.

Fabiola. By Cardinal WISEMAN. Popular Edition. London : Burns & Oates.

WE are glad to welcome a new edition of a book that has deservedly become a classic in the language, and which will appeal to a fresh succession of readers in every rising generation. In its pages the martyrs of the early Church, the Church of the Catacombs, are called up to our mental vision and made to preach from a new platform in a work of fiction, the undying lesson of their heroic lives and deaths. It helps us to realise more than any purely historical record, that stupendous miracle, the buried life of the Church, followed by her triumphant resurrection after those three centuries of entombment in which we may trace a correspondence with the three days passed in the sepulchre by her Founder. The description of the Catacombs, with their "thousand miles of subterranean city, and their six millions of slumbering inhabitants," can always be read with fresh interest, and with ever-renewed wonder at the strange growth of Christian Rome, the future city of the Papacy, outside the gates, and beneath the feet of the metropolis of paganism. Many problems connected with it, as, for instance, the removal and disposal of such a vast mass of excavated material, can only be solved by supposing a secret organisation of labour on a scale that would seem incredible were there not the undeniable witness of results to prove it.

The Life of Blessed Thomas More. By the Rev. Dean FLEMING. London : Washbourne. 1896.

THE brevity and simplicity of this convenient little biography is in strong contrast with many kindred works at the present day, which assume larger proportions by entering more fully into detail. The facts in which the whole interest lies are here clearly arranged and placed in due sequence, with that power of selecting the essential which forms the foundation of the literary art. We see in these pages how the future martyr's youth was a preparation for his crown by its unusual sanctity. On Fridays and Ember Days, we are told, he not only kept strict fasts, but slept on the ground with a block of wood for his pillow, and at twenty he put on a hair shirt which he never ceased to wear until his martyrdom. The value of the

little work is enhanced by the embodiment in it of the report of the trial and sentence of Sir Thomas More, taken from State Papers.

Le Général Kilmaine. By LÉONCE GRASILLIER. Paris: Albert Savine, Editeur. 1896

THE object of this little *brochure* is to rescue from unmerited oblivion the name of a soldier robbed by an early death of a portion of his laurels, and cast into the shade by the fame of those who took part in the great events of the subsequent epoch. The present "current of rehabilitation, or even of apotheosis, of the great misunderstood, and the illustrious unknown," has encouraged the author in his task, and the issue of a third edition justifies his assumption of it. The subject of the little biography was one of the many illustrious French soldiers who claim Irish origin, as his parents, Edward Jennings and Eleanor Soler, were Irish Catholics and Jacobites, naturalised in France before 1737. He was not only born in Dublin, in 1751, during a visit of his mother to her relations, but passed the first eleven years of his life in Ireland. The title of Kilmaine he took from the barony of that name in the county Mayo, where a branch of the family still resides. His military distinction was gained in the revolutionary Army of the North, in the command of which he succeeded Dumouriez, and in Napoleon's Italian campaign, where he commanded the cavalry. His death by natural causes on December 11, 1799, at the age of forty-eight, prevented him from sharing in the glories of the Empire.

A Visit to Europe and the Holy Land. By the Rev. H. F. FAIRBANKS. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1896. Fourth Edition. Price \$1.50.

THE impressions of this American visitor to Europe and the East are so vivid and genuine as to give renewed freshness to the record of what is now within the ordinary tourist's experiences. Among the little touches of nature that "make the whole world kin," is his confession to an attack of home-sickness on his first arrival in Rome, sufficiently severe to mar for the moment all his interest in it, and to suggest the heartfelt ejaculation, "I hope that but few know what it really is to be homesick." The sight of the Holy Places called up such emotions as were natural in a pious priest visiting them for the first time, and among other lively impressions was that made upon him by the spectacle of Catholic worship celebrated according to

the different rites of the Eastern Churches. Taking Damascus as a specimen, with a population of 110,000 and 12,000 Christians, the schismatic Greeks numbered over 5000, the Greek Catholics many more, Maronites and Armenian Catholics 300 each, Syrian Catholics about 600, and Latins a few hundred. The book contains many interesting facts and points of view unnoticed by previous travellers.

Dialogue of the Seraphic Virgin, Catherine of Siena. Translated from the original Italian, with an Introduction on the Study of Mysticism, by ALGAR THOROLD.

THE translator has rendered a great service to English-speaking Catholics in giving them a version in their own tongue of this celebrated work. Hitherto they have been compelled, if they wished to become acquainted with it, to read it either in the original Italian or in some one of the few French versions. The translation has been well done; though in the effort to translate as literally as possible, the author has failed a little in clearness from time to time. But no one will be inclined to quarrel about such trifles, when he recognises the great value of the "*Book of Divine Doctrine*," as the Dialogue was first named. In the Bull of Canonisation Pius II. says of Saint Catherine: "*Doctrina ejus infusa, non acquisita fuit*;" and it seems to have been the unanimous opinion of her contemporaries that this book in particular was the result of special and supernatural intercommunion with the Divine Majesty. Christofano di Gano thus narrates the circumstances of its composition:

This servant of Christ [he says] made a notable thing, namely, a book about the size of a missal. She composed it all, being in ecstasy, abstracted from the use of all her senses, except her tongue. God the Father spoke to her, and she replied, and made her demands of Him; and she repeated His words and her own likewise, and all in the vulgar tongue. She dictated and another wrote.

Whatever interpretation we may give to this account of the composition of the Dialogue, it would not be reasonable to doubt that it has a value much greater than ordinary ascetical treatises, since it is certainly the production of a mind elevated in an extraordinary degree by divine grace, and illuminated by the closest union with the Author of Light.

The nature and contents of the book may be, in part at least, explained by the following quotation from one of the last chapters (clxvii.):

If thou rememberest well, thou didst make four petitions of Me with anxious desire, or rather I caused thee to make them in order to increase the fire of My love in thy soul; one for thyself, which I have satisfied, illuminating thee with My truth, and showing thee how thou mayest know this truth which thou didst desire to know: explaining to thee how thou mightest come to the knowledge of it through the knowledge of thyself and Me. The second request thou didst make of Me was that I should do mercy to the world. In the third thou didst pray for the mystical body of the holy Church, that I would remove darkness and persecutions from it, punishing its iniquities at thy own desire in thy person. As to this I explained that no penalty inflicted in finite time can satisfy for a sin committed against Me, the Infinite Good, unless it is united with the desire of the soul and contrition of the heart. . . . I have also answered thy fourth request, that I would provide for the particular case of an individual; I have provided, as thou knowest.

The book is divided into four treatises, and also into chapters which run continuously throughout, and do not follow the division into treatises. This arrangement is not St. Catherine's, but is the work of her secretaries.

The introduction on the Study of Mysticism will not, I am afraid, be of much assistance to the student of the Dialogue. The definition of mysticism is certainly new. "It may be defined (p. 9) as the reduction to the emotional modality of the highest concept of the intellect, or more briefly, the habit of the love of God." The highest manifestation of mysticism is purely intellectual, and can scarcely be described as in any way "emotional" or as belonging to the "emotional modality," whatever that may be. Neither is mysticism entirely coincident or co-extensive with the habit of the love of God. It is rather a product or result of the love of God. *Divinus amor facit extasim*, as Dionysius says. A supposition of a doubtful character seems to underlie much that the author says on this subject. It is this: that mysticism is a natural development of human nature. For instance (p. 10):

For the science of union with God is not the monopoly of any religion, though some may bring to it a more exact terminology, and may possess vaster resources with which to stimulate and direct its development than others.

Again (p. 10): "No religion, as has been said above, has a monopoly of mysticism;" and lower down on the same page:

The early heresies were by no means in the first place intellectual theories, they were primarily mystical; their theories being formed to meet their emotional requirements.

Mysticism in its true sense is only found in the Catholic Church; and if it be founded on anything but the supernatural and theological virtues of faith and charity is but a delusion and a snare.

F. T. L.

The Faith of Our Fathers. By JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS.
8vo, Pp. 483. Baltimore. 1895.

"GOOD wine needs no bush," is a saying which may be applied without flattery to "The Faith of Our Fathers." The edition sent us for notice is the forty-seventh, bringing the total issue up to the 250th thousand. The first edition appeared at the close of 1876. In less than three years the work had passed through ten editions, and fifty thousand copies had been disposed of in English-speaking countries. The eleventh edition, brought out in 1879, contained revisions and additions. During the sixteen years which have elapsed since that time, thirty-five editions have been exhausted, and translations made into French, German, Spanish, Norwegian and Swedish. Several new passages upon doctrinal subjects have been introduced into the present edition, but we are disappointed not to find them referred to in the Index, or indicated in the Preface. Type and paper are also greatly improved. The subjects treated of embrace all that comes within a full course of instruction in Catholic doctrine; and while not professedly a controversial work, all the topics of religious controversy possessing a general interest or importance receive adequate attention. The style is admirably clear and forcible; the tone is frank, sincere, and considerate. We are encouraged by the invitation of the eminent author to make two suggestions that may be of service when the next edition is called for, which we trust will be as speedily as has been in the past. For instance, the value of the chapters on Penance and Matrimony would be increased if the statistics quoted on pp. 422-426, and p. 475, were brought up to date. Again, many of the references are imperfect, *e.g.* (p. 308) Irenæus, Lib. II. Adv. Haer., Origen. In Ep. ad Rom., p. 323. St. Augustine Tr. VI. in Ep. Joan. Tertull. De Resur. Carnis., also pp. 325, 326, 340, 344, &c. This is a matter which can in no way affect the general reader, but we do not doubt that there are many others who would desire to look up the passages for themselves in the originals. Besides, where all else is so excellent one would wish to see that last scholarly finish of complete references.

H. P.

The Jewels of the Imitation. By PERCY FITZGERALD, M.A.,
F.S.A. London; Burns & Oates. 16mo. Pp. 89.

THIS is a dainty little volume of reflections. Printer and binder have done their work admirably. The book invites reading, and, when once taken up, it is not easily laid down. The author has

in no sense composed an ascetical treatise, nor drawn out an orderly commentary on the text of the "Imitation." His plan is to take a passage almost at random, to open out its force and grandeur, to explain its bearing upon actual conditions of life, and to urge it on his readers with earnestness and sometimes in a vein of humour. In this he has undoubtedly attained his object in the easiest of manners and without labour or suspicion or affectation. The booklet would serve well as an introduction to the more uniformly sedate treatment of the subjects by à Kempis. The notes of which the collection is composed first appeared in "The Ave Maria," a circumstance which accounts for "no particular logical order having been followed," and for certain familiarities of expression. Speaking of judgment, he says (p. 24) :

And yet it is a "dead certainty" that every one must eventually pass through one perilous crisis—that he will have to encounter a trial and a sentence for which, in most cases, he will be but ill prepared, or not prepared at all. It is "on the cards" that he may receive a sentence of an *eternal* penal servitude. A death-bed . . . common and familiar as it is, is on every occasion a novelty, and a large, tremendous business, that would require years of preparation to pass through.

The Jewels he deals with are the sayings of the author of the "Imitation" on such vital topics as "the world"—true liberty—self—meddling—indifference—true spirituality—hearing Mass—dangers of study—false piety—temptation—companionship of Jesus—troubles—the judgment—approaching Holy Communion.

It may at least be doubted whether (p. 32) he has caught the spirit or true application of the "Imitation" (Book iii. c. xlviii.). There we have a soul longing for the blessedness of eternal life, yet conscious of many lingering imperfections, from which it ardently sighs to be delivered. Nothing could well be more common or natural in spiritual experience. Some too may be disposed to quarrel with the suggestion (p. 35), that the "Imitation" "is not so acceptable in emotional countries, such as Italy and France; and that it has had its best welcome in robust lands like England, America, and Germany." His remarks on the subject of hearing Mass are generally bracing, but we can hardly take as approved the direction he gives that "Mass should be said with a certain 'briskness' and vigour." The comment is somewhat too free if applied to the text quoted a few lines farther on, "kepe the good common waye as they do thou livest with" (p. 52). Mr. Fitzgerald is merciless to the weakness of so-called pious persons. Here is a reference, which also exhibits the energy with which he goes to work :

A notable point in our author's method is the almost pitiless way in

which he pulls off all cloakings and coverings, disguises and compromises. He will have no *dilettante* piety : it must be all *business*—bold, fearless “surgery.” To vanquish one’s self, to bear pains and sufferings, imitate Our Blessed Saviour in *everything*. Nothing can be done, or even begun, without some painful operation. . . . It is of course easy to repeat or inculcate such a programme, but quite another thing to carry it out. Still, it is something to have before us what *must* be done, and make efforts, however feeble, in such direction (p. 60).

H. P.

The Easiness of Salvation. By Father FABER, D.D. London : Burns & Oates. 16mo. Pp. 51. 1896.

THIS little book ought to accomplish the good work of bringing before a wide circle of readers in a compendiated form two attractive chapters from Father Faber’s treatise on “The Creator and the Creature.” One short extract of two pages from the chapter entitled “The Easiness of Salvation” introduces the subject to be explained. The editor then judiciously selects portions from the succeeding chapters, “The great mass of believers,” which set forth the comforting opinion, sustained with such abundant erudition by Fr. Faber, that the great majority of Catholics are saved. Most of our readers will recall the many-sided views of the question as it is presented by our great ascetical writer. These few pages are full of sweet and indirect invitation for the tepid, of encouragement for the fearful, and of comfort for more vigorous souls. “This then (p. 50) is what may be said on the bright side of this great mystery and difficulty. It is the bright side, not only because it is the most cheerful, but because it most invites to holiness.” There are those outside the Church for whom the following expression of a devout and learned man’s conviction will be received with grateful satisfaction. He has been speaking all along of Catholics, and has expressed no view whatever with regard to any others :

I have no profession of faith to make about them [those who are without the Church] except that God is infinitely merciful to every soul, that no one ever has been, or ever can be, lost by surprise or trapped in his ignorance; and, as to those who may be lost, I confidently believe that our Heavenly Father threw His arms round each created spirit, and looked it full in the face with bright eyes of love, in the darkness of its mortal life, and that of its own deliberate will it would not have Him.

H. P.

The Banquet of Angels. Edited and translated by the Most Rev. GEO. PORTER, S.J., Archbishop of Bombay. London : Burns & Oates. 16mo. Pp. 163.

THIS charming little manual will be equally welcome to ecclesiastics, religious, and devout laymen. It is composed of thirty meditations before and after Holy Communion—preparations and thanksgivings translated from the Missal—and various indulgenced prayers. A note informs us that the meditations are taken from the well-known “Priests’ Manual” by the courtesy of Messrs. Rockliff Bros., Liverpool. There is no lack of variety and freshness in the meditations, while the employment of passages of Holy Scripture throughout the entire series leaves nothing to be desired. The construction of the meditations is uniform, and though the different sections are no mere statement of points, they do not suffer from the fault of diffuseness which wearies the reader, and rather prevents than aids meditation ; and, what is quite as important, the brief developments are entirely free worn-out forms or allusions which, from too frequent use in the same manner, have lost their virtue to suggest or stimulate. A graceful translation is the crowning excellence of this delightful manual.

Almost invariably the English version, or its substance, accompanies the text of the Vulgate. There remains, however, a few instances where the need of an English rendering has escaped the vigilance of the editor. Many readers, we think, would be glad to have a translation of the Latin at pp. 42–44, 72, 91, 92, 131.

Sermons on the Blessed Virgin Mary. By the Very Rev. D. J. McDERMOTT. New York : Benziger Bros. Pp. 183.

THIS is a collection of eight sermons in honour of Our Blessed Lady that were for the most part preached in churches of Philadelphia, between the years 1869 and 1891. The subjects treated are the Immaculate Conception—the Name of Mary, the Sorrows of Mary, the Holy Rosary, Queen of Prophets, and Mother of Mercy. The discourses are not wanting either in substantial matter, or interest, or originality of treatment. Clearness, directness, vigour, and the constant appeal to hard-headed common-sense, and the flow of native eloquence command the attention of the reader. Occasionally one meets with a quaintness of expression which might grate upon delicate ears on this side of the Atlantic. But this is a minor matter of detail. The book is of sterling value, and as it is judiciously controversial in character, it will be of considerable service to those who desire to know what is the position held by the Mother of God in Catholic devotion.

History of Christian Doctrine. By GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D., LL.D., Yale University. International Theological Library. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1896. Large 8vo, pp. 583. Price 12s.

THE author is careful to point out that his work is not a history of Dogma, but a history of theological thinking. He has attempted, not altogether unsuccessfully, and at times very happily, a condensed and rapid description of the more important intellectual currents set flowing by the Christian faith as it has successively come into contact with varied streams of human thought, from the time of the Apostles down to our own day. A vast undertaking requiring so many important qualifications—perfect impartiality, keenness and alertness of judgment, wide reading, a ready and retentive memory, broad sympathies—that it is no very grave reproach to the author to say that at times he has signally failed.

After an introduction dealing with, amongst other things, the possibility, need, and origin of Theology, its relation to faith and philosophy, the history proper is divided into three main sections—Ancient Theology, ending with Pope Gregory I.; Mediæval Theology, ending with Erasmus, and Modern Theology. To this last section nearly three hundred pages, more than half the volume, are devoted. By Modern Theology is substantially meant the Protestant Reformation with its offshoots and emergent schools and theories in England and the United States from Luther to Huxley. The rich fund of Catholic thought so temptingly suggested by Hurter's "*Nomenclator Literarius*" is here represented in outline too faint, thin, and dwarfed to leave any marked impression on the reader's mind. Yet we venture to think that this section on Protestant Theology will, as a whole, be found to be not only interesting, but suggestive and valuable. Especially noteworthy is the account of religious thought in England during the nineteenth century. It at once puts us in touch with the more important contemporary non-Catholic movements, and enables us clearly to gauge their drift and tendency. No student can carefully read this section without obtaining an intelligent view of the currents that have met and are now seething all around us. The names of Liddon, Gore, Mozley, Church, Spencer, Darwin, Huxley, Romanes, Dale, Martineau, are only instances of the author's present-day actuality as regards England, but that actuality is as impressive in respect of Germany and the United States. In his characterisation of the Modern Theology, the author remarks (1) that;

the evidential theology of the last century, which gave the precedence to miracles and to the proofs of them through testimony, has given way to a method which attributes a higher probative value to the internal,

spiritual characteristics of the Christian Revelation. (2) It is becoming more and more clear to the ablest naturalists that the moral history of mankind cannot be resolved into a natural history. (3) The idea that the supernatural is the antipode of the natural is no longer satisfactory. There is perceived a tendency . . . to harmonise . . . by the doctrine that . . . the two classes of events constitute one order of things. (4) There is a growing tendency to regard the Scriptures less as an authoritative manual of revealed tenets, than as the medium of disclosing to us the personal Christ and the import of His mission and teaching. The absolute inerrancy of Scriptural statements, especially in the narrative portions of the Bible, is no longer maintained. . . . This tendency is reinforced by whatever is deemed verifiable in the "Higher Criticism." At the same time, Protestant theologians are frequently disposed to admit an authority of the Church, in some substantial meaning of the terms. (5) The reduction of the area of Calvinism, and its partial disintegration in communities where it had long been established, is a fact which challenges attention.

The section on Ancient Theology, occupying somewhat more than a third of the volume, bears clear traces of the influence of Ritschl and Harnack. It sums up very well the latest results of Protestant scholarship. The author warns us at the outset that "faith is not here taken as in the vocabulary of the Church of Rome." To faith he might have added grace, justification, and other important words. Owing to this misuse of terms he misrepresents the doctrine of St. Augustine, and finds himself very ill at ease when in presence of the Apostolic Fathers.

We meet in Clement, and in the Apostolic Fathers generally, a strain of thought which may be styled legalism. There is an emphasis laid upon right conduct, and upon works of obedience. We find, especially in Hermas, traces of an ascetic drift. This peculiarity of the early Christian writers springs from no conscious dissatisfaction with the teaching of St. Paul.

We quite agree. But we may add that this peculiarity *does* spring from a conscious repudiation of certain false interpretations of St. Paul, and that the author is unfortunately possessed by such a false interpretation. In spite of the very serious drawback we have mentioned, the author's outline is interesting and valuable. It is generally clear and firm in treatment, and shows a wide acquaintance with recent literature. The narrative is brisk, and keeps up the reader's attention. We were pleased to see references to early testimony in favour of the efficacy of the Sacraments, and of the Real Presence in the Eucharist. As to the formula used in Baptism, the author, from the evidence of the *Didache* denies the validity of Harnack's inference that, in the Apostolic age, it was the shorter form in the name of Christ. For, while the *Didache* requires Baptism "into the name of the Lord" before admission to the Eucharist, it gives the longer formula in the directions for administering the rite of Baptism.

The poorest section is that on Mediæval Theology, the account of which is compressed within the narrow limits of seventy-five pages. This section needs serious revision, both of statement and of reference. It is easily perceived that the writer is not familiar either with the thought or the language of the schoolmen. To take a few examples almost at random, he attributes to St. Thomas the doctrine that God "is a being of whom nothing *positive* can be predicated." For this statement reference is made to P. 3, qu. 1, art. 3, and P. 1, qu. 46, art. 1. Both references are absolutely irrelevant; the first treats of the Incarnation as a necessary means of redemption, the second treats of the eternity of the world. On the other hand, St. Thomas lays down the clear thesis (P. 1, qu. 13, art. 12) that "*propositiones affirmativæ possunt vere formari de Deo.*" Was the writer thinking of the common doctrine concerning the analogical character of our knowledge of God; or was he simply using the term "*positive*" in an unexpected sense?

Again, we should have desired references for the statements that

Alexander of Hales deviated from Augustinianism in attributing to men good works antecedent to the infusion of grace. Bonaventura was of the same mind. The semi-Pelagian opinion was definitely set forth by Duns Scotus. Aquinas holds that prior to all reasoning, a knowledge of God is inherent "in a confused way" in all men. Under the Scholastic conception of justification and of the nature of faith, no foundation for assurance, for a sure and established confidence in one's Christian standing, could exist. According to Aquinas, the only means open for attaining an assured hope are certain signs or indications which, however, afford *no* certainty.

These examples will perhaps suffice to show that the author is a complete stranger to the theology of the schoolmen. To read his book intensifies one's longing for a History of Catholic Theology.

J. M. J.

The Veil Lifted: A New Light on the World's History.

By H. MARTYN KENNARD. London: Chapman & Hall. 1896.

Price 6s.

THIS book is like a nightmare, or an opium-eater's dream. Its professed object is to expose the "diplomatic" manipulations to which the Biblical writers subjected such historical materials as they had to their hand, and thus to discover anew the true course of history.

The diplomatic combinations have no doubt been framed with consummate skill; but when we detect that the ancient archives have been

systematically garbled and falsified, we can only ascertain their true rendering by a study of side-lights and reading between the lines. We may, however, assure ourselves that our present conception of Eastern history is a monstrous delusion (p. 60).

The prime diplomatic act was to identify the Israelites with the Hebrews.

But the moment that we recognise that the Moses (*i.e.*, Apepi, the Sun God Masu) was the Great King God of the Hamitic Hykso or Hebrews; and Joshua (*i.e.*, Aahmes) was the Great King God of the Semitic Israelites, the diplomatic transformation scene is palpably before us (p. 23).

The moment we recognise *that*, we are prepared to recognise a great deal more, *v. gr.* :

That Abraham was the Hebrew Great King God who deposed the Israelite Great King God Chedorlaomer; that the Samuel, the Saul, and the Esh-baal were the Israelite Pharaohs Ramses XI., XII., XIII.; and the David, the Solomon, and the Rehoboam were the Hebrew Pharaohs Hirhor, Piankhi, and Pinotem; that Julius, leading his Hebrew legions, supplanted the legitimate Great Queen Cleopatra, which forced the Hebrew Legitimists to ally themselves with their old rivals the Israelites. The Israelite Great King God Phraates IV. (*i.e.*, Antony) married the Hebrew Great Queen Goddess Cleopatra; and their son Phraataces, the Christ, became the Great King God of the Christians.

But this will be enough for the reader.

J. M. J.

Œuvres de St. François de Sales. Ed. complète. Tome VII.
Sermons. First Volume. Annecy. 1896.

THE only sermon published by St. Francis de Sales in his lifetime was the well-known funeral oration on the Duc de Mercour. It will surprise some of the holy Doctor's clients to hear that there are enough of them now recovered to fill four volumes of the new Annecy edition. There lies now before us the first of these four volumes—that is to say, the seventh volume of the edition as a whole.

There can be no doubt that, as a preacher, St. Francis of Sales has not hitherto received the attention he deserves. It is true that of the vast number of sermons he delivered during his life comparatively few were written out formally. But from the considerable remains which exist, either in the Saint's own autograph or in the notes of other persons, and from what we know of his methods and his astonishing success, it is clear that in him we have the commencement of a new period in French pulpit eloquence. The preachers of the day, as we learn from many contemporary testimonies, were formal,

pedantic, flowery, and literary. St. Francis, consumed with zeal for souls, was simple, direct, and spiritual; and yet there is never absent from the shortest scrap that has come down to us that gracious unction and that rich vein of real eloquence which distinguish all his writings.

The editor promises us, when the whole of the sermons have been published, an historical and critical study on the holy Doctor's preaching. Meanwhile this volume has innumerable points of interest. We have here sixty-five sermons, or plans and parts of sermons. The first five were preached by the Saint when only in sub-deacon's orders. Then there is the Latin oration which he delivered when taking possession in his twenty-second year of the Provostship of Geneva. This strict chronological order is maintained, as far as possible, throughout the volume; and as nothing of the kind has ever been attempted before, the reader can easily see how such an arrangement must bring out the personal history of the Saint's mind and heart, and the gradual development of his unique style. Among the special points of interest in the volume before us may be noted the continual citation of Holy Scripture and the number of sermons on the Blessed Sacrament. There are two beautiful fragments which must have formed part of a Lenten course preached in the first year of his ministry—a course of which all other traces have been lost. These are now printed for the first time from the Saint's autograph. There are two plans of sermons on St. Louis, both apparently preached in Paris in 1602, in the early days of his episcopate. The former of these is a remarkable specimen of an admirable sermon sketch, very fully wrought out. All the sermons furnish numerous examples of the Saint's very characteristic and constantly recurring *prosopopeia* and direct appeals to his hearers. For example, in the very earliest sermon of his youth:

O mon ame, ma chere moitié, n'as tu jamais oüy en toy mesme le Seigneur ton Dieu te commander, *Ambula coram me et esto perfectus?* O combien de fois avec tant de péchés, as tu rejeté les inspirations de Dieu; combien de fois as tu fait resistance! (p. 14).

Let the reader note also the beautiful prayer to Our Lady at the end of the sixty-first sermon (On the Assumption); or the passage in the notes for St. Louis's day, beginning "O felix Gallia," and referring to the lilies of France.

The labour of the editor, Canon Mackey, in verifying the citations from the Fathers, and in clearing up many difficulties in the patristic references should not be passed over without notice. Neither can we help congratulating him on the conspicuous success which has re-

warded his researches in so many quarters for MSS. Many entirely unedited pieces are now given for the first time, and some of the discourses which had already been printed are presented with perfectly new features.

The beauty of the type and excellence of the paper continue to be as admirable as in the former volumes.

Le Révérend Père Chambellan, de la Compagnie de Jésus,
1834–1892. Par le PÈRE CHARRON, S.J. Pp. 285. Paris :
P. Téqui, Libraire, Editeur. 1896.

THE interest of this book lies in the study of a strong and passionate character and the means by which it was led towards perfection.

Henri Chambellan, born at Paris, of Catholic tradespeople, in 1834, one of three brothers, all of whom entered religious life, showed the force of his character at a very early age. When fifteen years old, so troublesome was he, that the rector of the school kept by the Jesuit Fathers, at Brugelette, Belgium, expelled him with the warning, "This boy will one day be a bad man or a great saint."

It is related that he once, whilst there, confided to his master his desire to enter the Society, whereupon the latter exclaimed: "My dear fellow, if you enter the Society, I shall leave it!"

"At this period," adds his biographer, "the idea of Chambellan, S.J., would have met with many incredulous hearers."

Father Chambellan's fervent wish to become a missionary was not gratified and his work in the Society was chiefly that of a superior, first as rector at Laval and Poitiers, then as provincial at Paris for six years. But in authority he seems to have been much less beloved than as a simple religious.

"With my character," says he of himself, "I make my rule irksome everywhere." Although in reality of great kindliness, his manner was affected by the continual restraint put upon his natural impetuosity and violence, the result often being that he was misunderstood.

"In that respect," says he himself, "I have never been understood, my outer man has always belied me."

Yet what a testimony to a man naturally swayed by strong feelings, to have it said by those who knew him in the Society: "He changes no more than does the sun." By Father Chambellan's own doing, most of his writings were destroyed before his death, but such as appear in the Appendix to the Life, mostly letters of consolation and advice to others, or short epigrammatic thoughts, are full of the fervent

piety and self-abnegation that seem to have been his leading characteristics.

Un Apôtre Français au Tonkin, Mgr. Puginier. Par C. ALLENGOYE. Pp. 218. Paris: P. Téqui, Libraire, Editeur. 1896.

THE story of a life spent as a missionary in the East cannot fail to be of deep interest.

Mgr. Puginier, dying at Hanan in 1892, at the age of fifty-seven, had behind him thirty-three years of labour for the faith, twenty-five as bishop, during which, despite many trials and hardships, the progress of the cause, under his direction, was most remarkable. Leaving France for Tonkin at the early age of twenty-four, the young priest and his companions were delayed at Hong Kong by reason of the persecutions raging in Anam. Eager as he was for martyrdom, the young priest showed his appreciation of the work before him. "God's will be done," says he; "the first object of missionary life is not to lead to martyrdom, but to procure the extension of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the salvation of souls."

It was only after some time spent at Saignon, working with the Sisters of St. Paul among the wounded and dying, that the Abbé Puginier was allowed to proceed to Tonkin, and even then his journey thither was so beset with perils as to recall the journeys of St. Paul. In Tonkin he was soon given a district of some twenty thousand Catholics, spread over an area only covered by two days' march. "The viceroy of Tonkin," he writes gaily, "is about to become my parishioner. If he has need of my ministry, I am quite disposed to come to his aid, always on condition that the sheep should not devour the shepherd."

The spirit of gaiety and undauntedness so necessary to the missionary seems to have been possessed by Mgr. Puginier in a high degree, and only increasing in maturer years and after his consecration as Bishop in 1868.

The death of the Bishop, half an hour after receiving the holy viaticum, fitly closes this life, not long in years, but who shall say how fruitful in results?

The Office of Holy Week with the Ordinary Rubrics, Summaries of the Psalms, &c. Translated from the Italian of the Abbate A. MUZZARELLI. Baltimore: Murphy & Co. 1896. Pp. 575.

BESIDES the Offices of Holy Week, this copious and well-printed manual contains the ordinary rubrics of the services, summaries of all the Psalms which occur, explanations of the ceremonies and mysteries, together with observations and devout reflections. The whole of each service is given in Latin and English, and in addition to the services generally included in Holy Week books, we have the entire office for the last three days of the week, as also matins, lauds, vespers, and compline for Easter Sunday. The Blessing of the Holy Oils is supplied in an appendix. One notices, however, with some surprise that the vespers and compline of Palm Sunday are omitted.

The explanations furnished throughout the book ought to prove a great service in aiding Catholics to enter with more intelligence, reverence and earnestness into the spirit of the liturgical functions of this greatest week in the year. And after having cordially recommended to our readers this very carefully arranged guide to the services of Passiontide and Easter, we may be permitted to offer one or two criticisms which, however, will not in any way detract from the substantial work of the book we are noticing. We are glad to observe that the editor (as far as possible) has retained the words of the current English version of the Vulgate; on the other hand, in the prayers he has allowed himself full liberty to modify received translations, and in some cases to retranslate the Latin text. His emendations are commonly in the direction of a freer and more modern rendering. Examples of this may be recognised in the prayers at pp. 41, 42, 45, 78, 105, 115, 160, 286, 371. Still we do not feel that all his changes are in reality improvements. The translation of the first antiphon (p. 210) is surely an oversight, as also the expression "arrive *to* life everlasting" (p. 106), and of "Deus qui per olivæ ramum" by "O God, who by an olive branch didst command" (p. 67). "Complins" is probably a relic of "Complies," but it is not used in English. The word "salvus," at p. 371, last line, should of course be "salvas." The translations of "cerei hujus laudem" (p. 439), and "in quo salus mundi pependit" (p. 374), are not happy. The version of the "Vexilla" given at p. 384 is not the one used in the Roman Liturgy, and will, we are sure, be replaced by the authorised reading in the next edition, which we hope will soon be called for.

H. P.

The Imitation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. By the Rev. F. ARNOUDT, S.J. Translated from the Latin by Father J. M. FASTRE, S.J. New York: Benziger Bros. 1896. Pp. 810.

THE eight editions of this copious work which have run through the press in England, are sufficient evidence of its popularity. The copy before us is from the firm of Messrs. Benziger, who have recently prepared a new edition, which, besides what is contained in the current edition, includes a complete table of chapters—testimonies of the ecclesiastical censors—translator's preface—a memento to the reader, p. 771—and various prayers to the Sacred Heart "found verbatim in the writings of the blessed Margaret Mary." The work is divided into four parts. In the first, the author treats of the purification of the heart from sin, from attachment to the world, and from self; he also introduces into this section the consideration of the shortness of life, and of the four last things.

In the second book, the practice of the virtues is expounded, and particularly by means of the examples of Our Lord's life.

In the third book, we come to the subject of "perfection," or "holiness required by virtues which are in some manner heroic, such as are usually practised by them that bear their sufferings with the proper disposition of heart" (p. 353). Three subjects here run side by side—perfection, the acceptance of suffering, and the passion of Christ.

In the fourth book, the reader is carried on to the loftier theme of spiritual union with the Sacred Heart, when the writer is led to speak of the Blessed Sacrament as the example and cause of our sanctity. The reader is instructed as to the scope and contents of each book by a "Directory" prefixed to the respective sections. These "Directories" comprise in brief the whole scheme of the spiritual life, along with counsels for the guidance of the soul in discriminating good and evil tendencies. The work is very full, and must not be read in haste. It should be allowed gradually and imperceptibly to produce its effect by patient and frequent reading. It was not written for people whose lives are so much occupied with other matters that they are unable to give the great business of personal sanctification their earnest and leisured attention.

H. P.

The League Hymnal. By W H. WALSH, S.J. Small 8vo. Pp. 115. New York: Apostleship of Prayer, 27 and 29 West Sixteenth Street.

WE have here a very welcome collection of Hymns to the Sacred Heart. It embraces all the hymns of the League Devotions. There are in all forty-five different hymns and separate melodies, with two duplicates. To these are added a Choral Service, the music being by Father Zulueta, S.J., and a *Te Deum* put into verse by the Rev. C. A. Walworth, and set to the tune of a German chorale. The choral service in honour of the Sacred Heart ought to become very popular. The short harmonised anthems are particularly delightful. The book concludes with an *O Salutaris* and a *Tantum Ergo*, which are given as Gregorian, but, in their similarity to the familiar melodies of Webbe, they suggest an interesting study in development or degeneration. By far the most important section is the Hymnal proper. Here we meet with every variety of fervent address to the Sacred Heart—hymns of adoration, praise, love, contrition, supplication, hope, trust, reparation, gratitude; hymns to the Sacred Heart in the Blessed Sacrament, hymns to the Precious Blood, hymns of the Badge, the Morning Offering, the Promoters' Cross, the League. We can affirm with confidence that every hymn in the collection is church-like in character, and that from beginning to end there is nothing hackneyed either in the words or in the music.

We do not, of course, suppose that every hymn will find general acceptance, nor do we care to point out that here and there the versification is unsuited to the essentially popular character of hymns in the vernacular, or ill adapted for singing. It is of small moment that (in our judgment) the words at pp. 20, 36, 38, 64 fall below the excellence of the music, or that the hymn at p. 42 appears to us verbose. What above all we are desirous of making clear is the high excellence of so many pieces in this unique repertoire. Readers of the *English Messenger* will be gratified to find that poems which have stirred their souls are here set to delicious melodies. We may give as instances—"Ad majorem Dei gloriam," p. 12; "Rest for Weary Hearts," p. 30; "The Morning Offering," p. 52; "All for Thee," p. 56. A good hymn combines many excellences—correct and intelligible doctrine, devout sentiment, easy and elegant versification, rhythm and expression suited to musical utterance, a good and practical melody, and one that is in reality church-like, harmonisation adapted to the organ. We believe that all these requirements are present in many instances throughout this collection. All the hymns are eminently doctrinal, all are devout, and at the same time free from

exaggeration. Our own favourites are: "Thy Kingdom Come," p. 2; "Our Hearts are Thine," p. 22; "Weary of Sin," p. 24; "Reparation of Sin," p. 70; "Our Hope of Heaven," p. 76. At p. 40 "did twine" should be "didst twine"; at p. 2 in the tenor of bar 3, the flat has fallen out of its place. "Entity" is a strange word to use in a congregational hymn (p. 73). In a future edition we should like to see the hymns numbered, and the names of the composers added in the table of contents.

H. P.

Conscience and Law, or the Principles of Human Conduct.

By WILLIAM HUMPHREY, S.J. London: Baker. 1896. 8vo. Pp. xiii.—226.

THIS excellent digest of some of the most important tractates of Moral Theology will be received as a boon by many readers. It is a technical treatise in thoroughly readable English. Familiar definitions are set out in fresh and pure phraseology; and although every point touched upon in the volume is properly scholastic, and receives regular treatment in the schools, scholastic form, we feel, is rarely perceived in the course of these carefully written pages. The subject-matter therein expounded will be recognised by the student at a glance, if we give the compiler's chapter-headings in their Latin equivalents: *De Actibus Humanis, de Conscientia, de Lege, de Dispensatione et de Privilegiis, de Justitia et Jure, de Restitutione*. The exposition is transparently clear, except perhaps in the first chapter, where even the studious reader, we believe, will not unfrequently desire some further explanation. At the same time, a valuable work would have been rendered still more serviceable, and not much more bulky, if examples had been introduced with a less stinted measure.

One merit of the production will doubtless be lost on the reader who lacks the time or opportunity to compare it with its sources. We refer to the exquisite rendering of the Latin originals of which the compiler has made such abundant use. We have compared chapters i., iii., iv., v., vi. with the corresponding sections in Father Ballerini's posthumous "*Opus Theologicum Morale*," and find that the pith of that voluminous work (in the portions named) has been extracted with the judgment of a far-seeing theologian. Chapter i. follows the order of Ballerini (vol. i.), but with numerous omissions and much greater liberty of treatment than in the other chapters mentioned. In these the author keeps very close to the text of his illustrious guide. Compare, for example, p. 90, with Ballerini's *Op. Theol.*, vol. i. pp. 256, 257,

p. 92 with p. 259, pp. 100–108 with pp. 265–274. The note of the editor, Father Palmieri (*De Lege Tributorem*) is given, as it deserves to be, with close fidelity. Compare again pp. 125–127 with Ballerini, *op. cit.* 317–319. The same devotedness to Palmieri may be observed in the question *De Interpretatione Legis*, compare pp. 138–144 with Ballerini, pp. 417–420. The chapter on Justice and Right is very instructive, bringing, as it does, the teaching of Ballerini before the general reader in the garb of terse and vigorous English. Perhaps the chapter on Restitution will give the best notion of the writer's qualities of care in selection, freedom of treatment, fidelity to the originals, combined with elegance and scientific accuracy of translation. Take as an instance, pp. 210–216, compared with Ballerini, *op. cit.* vol. iii. pp. 342–356; pp. 224–225 compared with Ballerini, *ib.* p. 404. One cannot but regret that so much first-class work should be hidden through lack of references.

H. P.

Saints of the Order of St. Benedict. From the Latin of Fr. OGIDIUS RANBECK, O.S.B. Edited by Very Rev. J. A. MORRALL, O.S.B. February. London: J. Hodges. 1896. Price 3s. 6d. net.

THE second part of this excellent work, that for the month of February, is now before us. It continues to furnish a succinct but interesting and edifying summary of the life, virtues and labours of some Benedictine Saint, allotted to each day of the month. Obviously there will be occasionally a difficulty in finding a Saint for some given day: thus we find in this volume two Celtic monks whose claim to the title may well be questioned, St. Berectus on the 15th and St. Feunenus on the 23rd of February. Nevertheless, their selection may be justified on the ground that St. Benedict considered all true Cenobites as his brethren; for, as he says, "in every place we serve one Lord and fight under one King."

Each Life is accompanied by a full-page illustration beautifully reproduced from the striking wood-engravings of the original, which exhibit the effigy of the Saint and some remarkable incident of his or her life. This volume contains the lives of four English Saints, namely, St. Laurence, who succeeded St. Augustine in the See of Canterbury, February 2; St. Birnstan, Bishop of Winchester, February 24; St. Walburge, February 25; St. Oswald, Archbishop of York and Bishop of Worcester. Besides these, there are four Celtic Saints, namely, St. Alto, February 9; St. Berectus, February 15;

St. Tanco, February 16; St. Feunenus, February 23. Of these, SS. Alto and Tanco belong to that fervent band of apostles who left their Irish cells to evangelise the pagan tribes of Germany; the other two belong rather to the earlier legendary period, and their acts have that quaint and marvellous character so peculiar to the early Irish Saints. Many of the Saints contained in this volume being comparatively but little known, their lives will prove both interesting and instructive to the general reader; that of St. Adelaide, February 5, is particularly charming. Whilst we have nothing but praise to accord to the plan and execution of this work, we may perhaps be permitted to make a suggestion in the editing of future volumes: that the period in which the Saint lived should be *prefixed* at the head of the Life. For, as there is no chronological sequence between one Life and the following, the reader has sometimes a difficulty in realising where he is. Similarly, as regards locality, though the editor has in many instances given in a note the modern equivalent of ancient geographical names of places, yet, in some cases, such information is not vouchsafed. Thus, in the Life of St. Berectus, the only place mentioned is the kingdom of "Breffny," whose whereabouts we imagine is not known to all. Again, in the Life of St. Feunenus there is no indication whatever of the country to which the Saint belonged. We trust that this work will meet with a wide circulation, in order to diffuse a better knowledge of these little-known Saints and of the venerable Order which they adorned by their virtues.

WILFRID WALLACE, O.S.B. (R.I.P.)

Richard Lovell Edgeworth. A Selection from his Memoirs. Edited by BEATRIX L. TOLLEMACHE (Hon. Mrs. Lionel Tollemache). London: Rivington, Percival & Co. 1896.

MRS. TOLLEMACHE has good cause for dilating upon the difficulties of making a good "abridgment of a biography," a work which she has attempted in this little book. Richard Edgeworth is chiefly famous for having been the father of Maria; and so great has been the lustre of Maria's celebrity, that some of it even reached the memory of Richard's mother for having been the parent of the father of Maria.

"He owes much," says Mrs. Tollemache, "to the training of a sensible mother"; but it is amusing to read that, after educating her son, she herself had need of discipline. She became ill and suffered from "nerves," melancholia, and hypochondria; and she consulted Lord Trimleston, a doctor of whom we will quote a description, not

from Mrs. Tollemache's book, but from Burke's "Peerage": "Trimleston, Robert, twelfth Baron. This nobleman lived for many years in France, and pursued the study of medicine with great success; after his return to Ireland he resided at Trimlestown, and gratuitously and freely communicated his advice to all who applied for it." Mrs. Edgeworth "applied for it" and was most hospitably received as an in-patient at his house. The treatment prescribed by Robert, twelfth Baron, was a "rod of birch," no doubt a wholesome remedy, though rather an unusual one for a mother of a boy of ten; the results, however, were all that could be wished; and modern doctors might possibly do worse than order the same prescription in cases of "nerves."

Richard Edgeworth took up engineering as a profession and was somewhat original. He invented particular kinds of telegraphs, clocks, and church-spires; he contrived a carriage propelled by sails, and he "nearly invented the bicycle." The education of his eldest son was very unsuccessful and Mrs. Tollemache says: "It was, perhaps, a failure in this first experiment in education which made Edgeworth devote so much care to the training of his younger children." For the greater part of his life education was his monomania, and his brain created the Frank and Rosamund, and the Harry and Lucy, which some of us are old enough to have read of, as children, in the pages of Maria, who herself wrote of "that literary partnership which for so many years was the pride and joy of my life." With regard to the difference between the tone of the children's books written by the Edgeworths and that of Miss Yonge, Mrs. Tollemache says: "Our duty to our neighbour is the Edgeworth watchword, while our duty to God is the watchword of Miss Yonge and her school of writers."

Edgeworth married four times, and he not only married one of his deceased wife's sisters, but also fell in love with one of his future wives before the death of her predecessor. When the wife in question actually died, Edgeworth was abroad, and, on receiving the news, he hurried home. He was welcomed by his friend Day, the author of "Sandford and Merton," who "had now come several hundred miles" to tell him that the lady whom he knew him to have been waiting to marry as soon as his wife should die, was "in perfect health and beauty, improved in person and mind." Shades of "Sandford and Merton," and of "Frank"! And we used to think you prudish! Edgeworth rarely allowed many months to elapse between the death of one wife and his marriage with the next. Among his virtues described by his daughter Maria, is one which will amaze Catholics, if it does not amuse them:

When from party bigotry [in Ireland] it has happened that a priest has been denied admittance to the condemned criminal, my father has gone to the county gaol to soothe the sufferer's mind, and to receive that confession on which, to the poor Catholic's belief, his salvation depended.

We wonder how much they told him.

The book contains some very interesting details of Edgeworth's relations to his Irish tenants, his action during some riots, and his attitude on the question of the Union.

A Travers l'Histoire de France. Études Critiques. Par A. LECOY DE LA MARCHE. Paris: Téqui. 1896.

THE tendency of the present day is to study history rather by reading monographs and historical essays than by going steadily through successive volumes of lengthy and ponderous histories. One reason of this may be that recent research and the throwing open to the public of national archives and libraries has produced such a plethora of detail as often to render a modern biography of a single historical character as bulky as an older history of an entire generation. In another way, there has also been a change of late. The lives of kings and queens used to be considered the main interest of history; whereas now attention is more directed to those of other people who have been personally distinguished, whatever their rank of life; moreover, there seems to be a growing inclination to divide the course of history rather into periods than into reigns. It must be added that in history, as in other literature, the present taste is for something short and light. An article is preferred to a book, and a paragraph to an article. "A Travers l'Histoire de France" is quite a work of the type suited to meet the modern demand. It savours a little of the lecturer, a little of the reviewer, a trifle of the journalist. The reader's mind is never allowed to become weary by being concentrated too long on one object. On an average, only fourteen or fifteen pages are devoted to each subject. As may be imagined, this does not admit of some of the larger questions being probed very deeply. The style of the book is what we Englishmen profanely call "very French"; but we mean thereby no disrespect. Here and there it may be slightly exaggerated. For instance, St. Bernard was undoubtedly a very remarkable saint; but comparisons between saints are neither grateful nor edifying; and to call St. Bernard the greatest saint of the twelfth century is to assert what cannot be known in this world. Many of the subjects are full of

interest and much of their treatment is both excellent and agreeable; although we sometimes long for further details and at others for somewhat different handling. Slaves and serfs, mortmain, St. Bernard and his social influence, various matters connected with the Crusades, Joan of Arc, a review of a book on preaching from a literary point of view—the author “commence à Notre-Seigneur Jésus Christ et fini au Cardinal Wiseman”—Roger Bacon and his scientific discoveries, Froissart and his Chronicle, and the origin of the modern theatre, form, with other subjects, a very attractive bill of fare, nor will it be found to be either deceptive or disappointing.

Russia and the English Church during the last Fifty Years.

Vol. I., containing a Correspondence between Mr. William Palmer, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Mr. Khomiakoff, in the years 1844–1854. Edited by W. J. BIRKBECK, M.A., F.S.A., Magdalen College, Oxford. Published for the Eastern Church Association. London: Rivington, Percival & Co. 1895.

THIS is the first instalment of what should prove an interesting work. Mr. Birkbeck writes on behalf of an Anglican movement, called the “Eastern Church Association,” which, as its name implies, seeks to gain and diffuse knowledge of the nature, teaching, feelings, views of the “Orthodox Church,” as an indispensable preliminary to any negotiations for Reunion with the East. He remarks that, while Anglicans have long been interested in the Eastern Church generally, they have hitherto had but little chance of real knowledge of the Russian Church in particular—a Church “which in numbers constitutes four-fifths, and in learning represents at least nine-tenths, of the whole Eastern Orthodox Communion.” This want he proceeds to supply; and it is clear that he is not unfitted to supply it, seeing that he has made seven journeys in Russia—“undertaken with the object of studying the ecclesiastical affairs of that interesting country.” He proposed to himself to begin “where Dr. Newman’s volume containing the account of Mr. Palmer’s visit to the Russian Church ended, namely, in the year 1842”; and to end with the cordialities that passed between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Metropolitan Plato, on occasion “of the Festival of the Ninth Centenary of the first conversion of the Russian Grand Duke Vladimir and his people, celebrated at Kieff, in 1888.” The present volume consists of a series of letters between Mr. William Palmer, one of the members of the “Oxford Movement,” and a Mr. Khomiakoff, a Russian layman of considerable literary and ecclesiastical influence. Mr. Palmer,

dissatisfied with Anglicanism, seeks satisfaction either in the East or in Rome, but has difficulties in either direction. He is more drawn to what he fancies is the better traditional position of the "Orthodox Church"; but he is held back by its slavery to the State, by its differences about re-baptism of converts, and by its claim to be exclusively the whole Catholic Church. Mr. Khomiakoff would, of course, persuade him that these difficulties are illusory, while those as regards the "Schismatic West" are vital and insuperable. He evidently has in view the establishing of a branch of the "Orthodox Church" in the West, as an outcome of the Oxford Movement. But he is mistaken in regarding Mr. Palmer as acting officially on behalf of the movement itself. The correspondence naturally ends when Mr. Palmer, unconvinced by the Russian's persuasions and explanations, enters the Catholic Church at Rome, about the time of the outbreak of the Crimean War. As to the merits of the controversy, there is only room for a brief summary. Each of the opponents is friendly throughout; each seeks to avoid direct doctrinal discussion; each is more effective in exposing the faults of the other's position than in defending the merits of his own. Mr. Khomiakoff's letters, for novelty's sake, will naturally evoke more interest; yet his opponent is always the more plain-spoken, direct, precise, and apparently the more earnest too. Mr. Khomiakoff's replies are ingenious and evasive, his reasoning always subtle rather than sound; while his statements on the Catholic Church are nearly always open to question. He talks of utilitarianism being the "groundwork of Popery," which is, of course, nonsense. He harps on the worn-out story of the addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed as being solely responsible for the Greek schism. He calls the "Church of Rome" a "State," as though it were a mere government arrangement, tolerant of widely different religions within its pale. But these and many other matters spring from his extraordinary theory on the nature of the Christian Church itself, a theory both confused and intangible. The Church, he says is not a divine *institution*, that is a low commonplace term, but an *organism* of truth and love, or, rather, truth and love as an organism; she holds the truth, but does not condescend to argument—that is left to the theologians: she defines the truth, by keeping to it, for she cannot err; but she does not define what is error; she consists of those souls only who are obedient to grace, and can be known only by those who belong to her; yet she has external "notes," and these are found only in the "Orthodox Church." This theory, which sufficiently refutes itself, is developed in Khomiakoff's essay, "The Church is One" (written about 1850), which forms an appendix to the present volume. That his theory has had influence in Russia, may be gathered

from an account given by Mr. George Samarin, his disciple, in the introduction to Khomiakoff's works. Mr. Birkbeck quotes a lengthy passage from Samarin. It is plain from this that the Russian Church had become entangled in the doctrinal disputes arising from the Reformation, and that, finding itself getting hopelessly divided and powerless to define or condemn authoritatively and finally, it sought to save itself by withdrawing from all considerations that demanded such definition or condemnation. This powerlessness to define, Mr. Khomiakoff glorified into its greatest merit, and made distinctive of the one true Church, at a time when Slavophile aspirations seemed to be putting Russia and its national Church into a position of peculiar importance. It is claimed that he has thus brought about a great change "in the current theology of the Russian Church"; so that, whereas, before it saw itself between two clearly defined forms of Western Christianity, it now sees itself as *the Church*, and outside itself merely two forms of *Rationalism*—viz., "Latinism" and Protestantism. How far this is the present conviction of Russia or the Russian clergy, is not yet apparent; it is a point of interest which we hope Mr. Birkbeck's forthcoming volumes will make abundantly clear.

J. H.

Deux Problèmes Religieux, Conférences de Nancy, 1868-1869. Par le P. DIDON, de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs. Paris : Lib. Plon. 1896. 12mo, xxv.-302 pp.

THIS book contains two sets of conferences delivered twenty-eight years ago, before the war and the Council, by the afterwards famous author of the "Vie de Jésus-Christ." He now republishes them with a preface, which is interesting as giving his view of the present state of religion and irreligion in France, and of the best means for effecting some improvement. His hope for the future is not in retrogression but in progress. Père Didon is well-known as a thinker favourable to modern views. He desires to reconcile the Church in France to them, by reconciling them first with the Church. Pius IX., he says, had the divine mission of pointing out the errors of the Modern Spirit; Leo XIII. has the no less necessary mission of developing its hidden treasures, cleansing them from the dross which surrounds them, and imparting to them the blessing of the Church.

The conferences before us deal with "Religious conviction," and "The Soul and the Infinite." The author says of them :

They will appear to the reader, as they did to myself when I looked them through once more, at once young and old. Young, for they betray

the inexperience of the orator. They have some of the excellences but—I fear—all of the faults which are the inseparable accompaniment of youth; the ill-restrained enthusiasm, the uncompromising statement, the stiffness and sometimes awkwardness of the movement, the carelessness of difficulties, the unbridled and unlimited hopefulness, and an impetuosity of faith which no obstacle hinders or disconcerts.

One is sorry to be obliged to acknowledge that this self-criticism is as just as it is modest. If we make allowance for the passion of his countrymen for fine phrases, yet it remains obvious that the expression is frequently more high-flown than the thought will bear; there is a sustained straining at eloquence which gives the impression of a continuous screaming, and which spoils the effect of a simple argument. In spite of this, the promise of better things is apparent in the young Dominican's enthusiastic rhetoric, and many passages are really fine. Here is one which will bear translation:

In fact, the ideal of all commerce between two beings is measured by the degree of intimacy and of union which is established between them, whilst this degree of intimacy is itself measured by the greatness and intimacy of the things exchanged. Ask therefore of Christian doctrine what it is which passes from God to man and from man to God; ask her what is their mutual exchange goods; the answer will be the two dogmas of the Incarnation and of Grace. Do you know what the Incarnation is? It is God assuming human nature. Do you know what is Grace? It is man participating in the very Nature of God. By these two ineffable mysteries these two beings, so distant until then, are brought together and are equalised; between man and God is established a true friendship. God has said to us: Thou soughtest Me; here I am, I Thy God! Look and listen! But I must now raise thee up to Myself. I will tear the veils, I will open My holy places, thou shalt enter the sanctuary where I dwell, thou shalt sit at My table and see Me face to face. Thou shalt be no more a man, thou shalt be a god. My infinite light shall be the light wherein thy being shall be plunged; My love shall be the devouring flame which shall set on fire thy life; My felicity thine eternal ecstasy; and without losing ought of what thou art, thou shalt be of My own offspring (p. 26).

A fine commentary on the prayer: *Deus qui humanæ substantiæ.*

A History of the Councils of the Church from the Original Documents. By the Right Rev. C. J. HEFELE, D.D., late Bishop of Rottenburg. Vol. V., A.D. 626 to the close of the second Council of Meaca, A.D. 787. Translated from the German with the Author's approbation and edited by WILLIAM R. CLARK, M.A., Hon. LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.C., Professor of Philosophy in Trinity College, Toronto, Hon. Professor in Hobart College, Geneva, N.Y. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1896. xvi.-472 pp. 8vo.

WE welcome this new volume of the translation of Hefele's "Councils," though we regret that it is to be the last. We have waited many years for the completion of these five volumes, and it is much to be wished that the remainder should be soon translated. It appears, however, that the sale of the work is not such as to encourage any one to undertake to carry on this laborious task. Doubtless, this is principally because few English readers take the trouble to read such learned books, apart from those whose special studies make it necessary and who generally can read German. But a secondary cause is certainly the fact that it has taken twenty years to publish five volumes, for no one likes buying an incomplete work. It is always difficult to translate a German book into bearable English, and the present translator has not succeeded very well, and we have further noticed numerous misprints. But these are details which hardly lessen our gratitude for the boon of having "Hefele" in English.

The volume before us deals chiefly with two great controversies. The first is that about the two wills in our Lord, the second about the use of images. To most readers the former will be the more interesting on account of Hefele's detailed examination of the letters of Honorius, and of the question of his condemnation. His conclusions were substantially the same in both the earlier and later editions, viz., that Honorius "thought in an orthodox sense, but unhappily, especially in his first letter to the Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople, he had expressed himself in a Monothelite manner;" but in the later edition Hefele had become still more favourable to Honorius. Originally he had criticised the first letter as implying that operation and will are of the one person, and not of the two natures, and hence are themselves one, while he thought that the fragments of the second letter implied a change in Honorius' view, owing either to the influence of Sophronius or to the quotation which he gives from the tome of St. Leo. Later, Hefele concluded that the first letter is just as orthodox as the second so far as the intention of the writer is

concerned. But he still held that the unfortunate expression *ὅθεν καὶ ἐν θέλημα ὁμολοχοῦμεν τοῦ κυρίου* 'I. X meant the unity of the divine and human will in Christ, and therefore that it could be quite reasonably quoted by the Monothelites as teaching their doctrine, although Honorius really meant *not* a physical but a moral unity.

It seems to us that there is more to be said for the view that Honorius meant to assert one human will in our Lord, to the exclusion of the rebellious will of the flesh. In the first place, the same abbot, John Symponus, who composed the letter for Honorius, composed for John IV. the letter in which that Pope vindicated Honorius from the charge of heresy, and he distinctly asserts in it that Honorius referred only to the human will of our Lord (p. 52). St. Maximus assures us that John Symponus asserted the same to the abbot Anastasius (p. 55). St. Maximus asks: "Who is the trustworthy interpreter of this letter; he who composed it in the name of Honorius, or those who spoke in Constantinople what was according to their own mind?" We might add: "or Bishop Hefele?" The Bishop further urges that the argument of Maximus is that Honorius had no occasion to speak of anything but the human will of Christ, and that this is not true. But if Maximus could misunderstand Sergius, surely we need not be surprised that Honorius' answer also should be in this one sentence slightly off the point. The internal evidence is distinctly in favour of the orthodoxy of the expression, and in harmony with the external testimony, for Honorius continues: "Since our human nature was plainly assumed by the Godhead, and this being faultless, as it was before the fall." He then proves this, showing that there is a vitiated nature in man which Christ did not assume. If he had just said that Christ's human and divine will are one, this continuation would have no connection with the context, and also he could directly contradict what he had said immediately before about the distinctness of the two natures and their two operations. The bad point of the letter is in reality the refusal to accept or refuse the expression *δὴ ἐνέργειαι* as a matter for grammarians, and the preference he gives to the vague *πολυτρόπως ἐνεργούντα*, which might apply as well to Ulysses as to our Blessed Lord.

The discussion of the anathema on this unfortunate Pope (pp. 181-205) is excellent, but that Hefele says that Pope Leo II., in his confirmation of the Council, *explained* the condemnation of Honorius for *heresy*, as meaning for carelessness. We think it is more like *explaining away*, since it involves a radical change.

De Leontio Byzantino et de ejus doctrina Christologica.
V. Ermoni, C. M. Paris: Libr. Picard et fils. 219 pp. 8vo.

THE above is an essay for the Paris doctorate, and, as the work of a presumably young student, must be warmly praised. It is an example of the careful, learned, and complete work which we long to find from the pens of Catholic authors, but which is as rare as it is welcome. The chief causes of this rareness are not far to seek. In the region of pathological lore scarcely any but priests can be expected to explore, and few are the priests who have the necessary leisure; if they are capable of original work they are capable of teaching; and teaching is more necessary, and the original work is left aside. Even in religious communities it is rare that sufficient time and the necessary assistance to research can be given. Yet the few writers who sustain the great traditions of Catholic learning undoubtedly exercise a real apostolate; and the respect which they gain from Protestant colleagues or adversaries is a real strength to the church. The study of the Fathers is a sealed book to all outside her pale. Lightfoot and Harnack may be the equals in mere learning of the Maurists or the Ballerini, but they are so totally wanting in sympathy that they are capable of the gravest errors, while the Catholic instincts of a De Rossi were the source of that insight which seemed like inspiration to his Protestant admirers.

Attention has been called of late to Leontius in Germany by the study of Loofs. He has been discussed in England, by the way, in Canon Gore's second "Dissertation" on the Incarnation, with regard to Agnosticism and the Canon's own extraordinary view. The present monograph has 40 pages on his identity, and rather more on his writings; the remainder is occupied with the discussion of his Christology. M. Ermoni is chiefly concerned to show Leontius as the first Aristotelian among theologians, as an orthodox guardian of the Catholic mean between Monophysitism and Nestorianism. It would be doubtless possible to criticise some expressions used by the author in treating so thorny a subject; we prefer to congratulate him on the general result, and to express the hope that this is the earnest of much future work in the same range of study.

J. C.

Johann Adam Möhler. Ein Gedenkblatt zu dessen hundertstem Geburtstag von ALOIS KNÖPFLE, Professor der Kirchengeschichte an der Universität München. (With a portrait of Möhler.) Munich: Lentner. 1896. x.-150 pp. Price 2s. 6d.

THE 6th of May, 1896, was the centenary of the birth of Dr. Möhler, the author of the well-known "*Symbolik*." As a memorial of this centenary Professor Knöpfler, D.D., D.Phil., second successor of Möhler at the University of Munich, wrote a sketch of his predecessor's life. We have to thank him for it, because it is more complete and more correct than those existing before. We learn from it many things about Möhler's youth and the disadvantages by which his studies were hampered. He certainly spoke from his own experience when, seven years after his ordination, he wrote: "It has happened very seldom that from isolated and small institutes anything prominent has come forth. There is a want of connection, a want of inflowing and stirring forces, and no opportunity of exerting one's faculties to the full. Such institutes can extremely seldom preserve themselves from continual mediocrity" (p. 16, note).

We quite agree with Dr. Knöpfler that Möhler, if he had not come to the University of Tübingen, would scarcely have become the author of the "*Symbolik*." We fully acknowledge that the students of theology in Tübingen have many opportunities of preparing themselves for teaching, and of extending their knowledge in different branches; yet we must not forget that, in general, the state of things there is not an ideal surrounding for Catholic youths preparing for the priesthood. The fact that the priests in the diocese of Rottenburg are so good and pious, in spite of this, is due to the grace of God given to them because they are in "*occasione necessaria*."

Chapters IV. to VI. show Möhler as the founder of the historical school amongst the Catholic theologians of Germany. They tell us of his theological inquiries, amongst which is his work on the unity of the Church; they describe his talent, industry, and enthusiasm as a professor, and his amiability and unselfishness towards his colleagues. Chapters VII., VIII. and IX. tell us of his removal from Tübingen to Munich, and of his death, and give some particulars about his character, in which we find a remarkable simplicity, humility, charity, industry, and, above all, love of truth.

We should like to bestow some praise on everything in the book. We cannot, however, hail the reprint of Möhler's remarks on the Society of Jesus and other orders of the Church. Möhler himself would certainly not write them nowadays. Appendix 3, too, on the liturgical language would have been better omitted as belonging to an

"earlier and immature direction of mind," and being "less important" (*cf.* p. 144, note 3).

We regret to find passages in the book which sound as if the author was writing an "Apologia pro domo," or others which seem almost to apply that an historian of great talent, industry, and sincerity was not liable to mistakes. We do not deny that the position of a professor at a university may be exposed to unjust criticisms from different quarters; yet we cannot persuade ourselves that the fact of being attacked is always the sign of extraordinary ability and sincerity, nor the fact of being praised always a sign of mediocrity and insincerity.

In spite of these remarks, which we feel bound to make (notwithstanding note 3, page 48), we wish that many may read this book to learn something about Möhler. If some of his views seem strange or even startling to us, we must not forget that he lived in a time and in surroundings where Josephism was still flourishing, and where there was scarcely any trace of that filial and enthusiastic devotion to the Holy See which now, thank God, has spread so far and is spreading still amongst the Catholics of Germany.

L. N.

Die abendländische Messe vom 5. bis zum 8. Jahrhundert,
von Prälat Dr. FERDINAND PROBST, Domherr an der Kathedral-
kirche und Professor an der Universität Breslau. Münster i. W.
1896. Aschendorff. xvi.-444 pp. Price 9s. 6d.

THIS volume of Dr. Probst on the "Western Liturgy from the Fifth to the Eighth Century," is the continuation and the conclusion of his former works on "The Oldest Roman Sacramentaries and Ordines" (1892), and on "The Liturgy of the Fourth Century and its Reform" (1893). The praises bestowed on the preceding works by prominent specialists in liturgical matters, are due also to this book of the learned author, who has devoted his long life of eighty-one years to the study of the Mass and its development since apostolic times. It is true he cannot prove all his theories, and he confesses on the first page that the book must necessarily have many gaps, owing to the want of material, and to the fact that he has only used printed sources, yet we thank him heartily for the results of his studies, drawn as they are from about a hundred and fifty folio volumes.

Part I. treats of the Milan liturgy, and gives some interesting reasons for its close connection and relationship with that of Rome.

Part II., treating of the "Irish Liturgy," is for us most interesting

and deserves to be considered in a special article by one of our competent liturgists. Dr. Probst comes to the conclusion that the parts inserted in the Stowe Missal by Moel Caich are remnants of the pre-Gregorian Roman Mass brought to Ireland by St. Patrick, whereas the original MS. contained the *Missa quotidiana*, influenced by the Gregorian *Ordo Missæ*, brought to England by St. Augustine.

That the Stowe Missal is rather Roman than Gallican is shown by the fact that it is very little influenced by the ecclesiastical year, whereas the chief characteristics of the Gallican and Mozarabic rites is the rich variety of formulas adapted to the different festivals, and this even in the canon of the Mass. In our present Missal the name of *Missa quotidiana* is only preserved in the last formula of the Requiem Masses, though of course the variable prayers in it are not those of the old Roman *Missa quotidiana*, but adapted to the special purpose of this Mass. Yet in the three prayers for bishops and priests, for relations and benefactors, and finally for all the faithful departed, there may be some remnant of the idea of the ancient *oratio fidelium*. Still more striking is the fact that the gospel of this Mass is the same as in the Stowe Missal.

Part III., speaking of the Roman Mass both before St. Gregory and in his time, alone contains 164 pages. It shows the work of this great Pope so justly dear to us. It is impossible, in the space at our disposal, to explain fully his powerful and salutary influence on the final development of our present canon, especially in preventing the exaggerated influence of the ecclesiastical years which threatened the very existence of those venerable prayers, whose antiquity is proved by Dr. Probst. The *changes* made by St. Gregory in the *Ordo* of the Mass are summed up thus: 1. The saint omitted in the *Memento of the living* the prayer for the different classes of the faithful, and in the prayer "*Hanc oblationem*," the prayers for different needs and circumstances, and inserted all these prayers, omitted in the canon, in the Liturgy of Good Friday.

2. He separated the *Memento of the dead* from the Commemoration of the Saints before the Consecration, and put it after the Consecration, in the place where in older times the *Memento of the living* also occurred.

3. He diminished the number of prefaces and "*Communicantes*."

4. He placed the "*Paternoster*" at the end of the canon. The passage in which he speaks about this latter change has been differently understood and interpreted. A Sicilian informed the Pope that many were dissatisfied with his ordinances regarding the liturgy, because he followed too much the usages of Constantinople. Amongst these usages there was mentioned the *recitation of the "Paternoster"* immediately after the canon. St. Gregory answers that on this point

he did not follow any other Church. He gives quite another reason for his ordinance, saying :

Orationem vero dominicam idcirco more post *precem* dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo *orationem oblationis* hostiam consecrarent, et valde mihi inconveniens visum est, ut *precem* quam scholasticus composuerat super oblationem diceremus, et ipsam traditionem, quam redemptor noster composuit, super ejus corpus et sanguinem taceremus.

The various interpretations of this passage are due to the different meanings which are attached to the words "*orationem oblationis*," "*precem*," and "*precem quam scholasticus composuerat*." Dr. Probst takes "*precem*" to be the canon as well as "*orationem oblationis*." The latter, he thinks, cannot mean the "*Paternoster*," which is just before called "*Oratio Dominica*," and which is certainly not a "prayer of oblation." If St. Gregory had believed that the Apostles had no such thing as a canon of the Mass, he would have put the "*Paternoster*" immediately before or after consecration. By "*precem scholastici*" then would be meant the "*Libera nos Domine*" after the "*Paternoster*," which formerly began with the invocation of God, but whose beginning was changed by St. Gregory when he put the Lord's Prayer before it. The meaning of St. Gregory's words would thus be :

The Apostles consecrated only by using the Canon (therefore the *Paternoster* ought not to be there, as it was in some liturgies), but as there is a prayer of a scholar (not of the Apostles) said over the consecrated body and blood of our Lord, I thought it proper that such a place of honour should not be denied to the prayer composed by our Lord Himself, and therefore I put it immediately after the Canon and before the prayer of that scholar.

Part IV. treats of the Gallican Mass. There are no essential differences between his views and those of Father H. Lucas, S.J., exposed in vol. cxiii. p. 564, and vol. cxiv. p. 112 of this Review. We may therefore pass over this part and only mention that Dr. Probst regrets his inability to read these two articles.

The Spanish Mass is treated in Part V. Spain apparently kept the Apostolic Mass until the end of the fifth century. The old Spanish Mass was not universally settled when Bishop Profuturus, in 538, obtained from Pope Vigilius the Gelasian *Ordo Missæ*. The characteristics of the Spanish Mass, attributed to Oriental influence, are rather remnants of the old Apostolic Mass, and though it resembles in some things the Gallican rite, yet the Roman influence, or, perhaps, rather origin, shows itself in the prayers of the canon and in the fact that the text of the lessons is that of the *versio Italica*.

From what we have said it will appear that Dr. Probst's book contains a great deal of valuable and solid information on the liturgy of a period of which we know so little. For those who wish to study liturgical MSS. of that period this work will be a valuable guide. Dr. Probst will consider it his best success if his book leads others to a further examination of the theories he has suggested. The only thing we have to regret is that the book is not written in Latin, because then it would be more accessible to those interested in its contents.

L. N.

Father Furniss and his Work for Children. By the Rev. T. LIVIUS, C.S.S.R. Art and Book Company. 1896. Pp. 193.

A SIMPLE record of the remarkable labours of a holy and devoted priest. Fr. Furniss was a true son of St. Alphonsus, filled with the same spirit which anointed the great doctor: "to preach the Gospel to the poor." His special mission was to the lambs of Christ's flock, and his work among the poor children of our great towns was so marvellously successful, that they may be said to have made a complete revolution in priests' methods of dealing with children; especially with regard to their admission to the sacraments and their assistance at Holy Mass. His simplicity and beauty of character were most remarkable, and this childlike spirit was no doubt the true secret of his successful work. It is touching to learn that the holy Redemptorist's last days were clouded by the same sort of trials that beset St. Alphonsus before his death, but through it all (like his holy father before him) he maintained that childlike spirit of obedience to his director in which alone was safety and peace. He died a peaceful and blessed death at Bishop Eton, September 16, 1865.

B. C.

Alethea: At the Parting of the Ways. By CYRIL. London: Burns & Oates. Two vols.

TO those persons who have not the time or the patience for the study of professed historians the historical romance furnishes an agreeable and convenient means of acquiring some knowledge of the history of a given epoch, provided always that the history is not sacrificed to the exigencies of the story or to the prejudices of the writer. Such a work is "Alethea," in which the author relates the origin of the Greek schism which began in the ninth century, and which still divides the Eastern Church from the centre of Catholicity.

The scene of the story is of course laid at Constantinople, and the principal actors are historical personages whose character and acts are faithfully and accurately portrayed in these pages. Ample justice is done to Photius, whose lawless ambition led to the schism; his hypocrisy and duplicity, the unscrupulous methods he used to compass his designs, his inhuman treatment of the saintly patriarch, Ignatius, are all truthfully depicted in this work. The firm and prudent attitude of the Holy See, the proceedings of the Eighth General Council, the correspondence between the parties, are faithfully reproduced. There is a chronological error or misprint on page 243 of vol. i., which should be corrected in any future edition. It is there stated that "in the year 450" Pope Gregory rebuked John the Faster, who styled himself Œcumenical Patriarch: the incident of course took place at the end of the sixth, and not in the middle of the fifth century.

With regard to the construction of the story, Alethea, the heroine, is a noble maiden, an orphan, to whom Photius acts as guardian. She however, does not favour the ambitious schemes of Photius, but attaches herself to the cause of the patriarch Ignatius. The great champion of orthodoxy in the story is Theophylact, an officer of high rank. The story concludes with the union of Theophylact and Alethea after the usual vicissitudes which, in works of fiction, are accustomed to interrupt the course of true love. There seems, however, to be a certain lack of art or pains in the solution of the problems and complications which arise in the course of the story. For instance, the release of Theophylact from captivity is treated too much in the "Open Sesame!" fashion to be within the bounds of verisimilitude. The introduction of Andromedes into the plot gives the author an opportunity of indulging a humorous vein. The work abounds in stirring incident, and in graphic and picturesque descriptions of persons, times, and places with which the story deals. The book will be a useful acquisition to any Catholic lending library.

F. W.

Archbishop Wake and the Project of Union (1717-1720)
between the Gallican and Anglican Churches. By J. H.
 LUPTON, B.D., Surmaster of St. Paul's School, &c. London:
 George Bell & Sons. 1896. Pp. 142.

"REUNION is in the air," as the Archbishop of York has remarked, and the work before us is but another sign of the truth of his observation. It is but natural that Anglicans who are

looking forward to "corporate reunion" should love to dwell on previous attempts that have been made towards this desirable end. But, as a matter of fact, we fear Mr. Lupton's treatise will give but cold comfort to Lord Halifax and his friends. The reunion aimed at by Archbishop Wake and his French friends was by no means similar to that desired by our modern Anglicans. At least we hope so: for, far from being an attempt at union with the Catholic Church, it was merely an attempt to detach the Church in France from her allegiance to the Holy See, and then unite her on a common basis of heresy and schism with the Anglican body. The perusal of this correspondence makes us fervently thank God for the regeneration of the Church in France which our own times have so happily witnessed. When prominent Doctors of the Sorbonne could correspond with a Protestant prelate, and propose terms of union which were a practical denial of half the Church's faith, it must be confessed that things were at a sorry pass. What is more serious is that Wake's earnest exhortations to his correspondents to throw off the "tyranny of the Bishop of Rome," do not seem in the least to have been resented; nay, the letter is said to have given *pleasure* to Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris. In such a state of things, with the Court fighting desperately for its usurped privileges, and Jansenism eating out the heart of the higher clergy, Beauvoir, the Anglican chaplain at Paris, may well have been triumphant. He tells Wake of the numerous conversions he was making from Popery, of the hundreds who came to communion at the Embassy chapel, and of the success attended by his preaching, aided by that of the Dutch Calvinist minister. Wake himself was far more interested in union with the foreign Protestants than with the Gallican Church. He saw all the time that the latter consummation was exceedingly unlikely, though he earnestly hoped that Louis might prove a second Henry VIII.

We are not surprised to find that one of his correspondents, De Girardin, found (like Le Courayer) a congenial retreat later on at Lambeth. As Wake says, "Since he cannot yet bring on an union with the two Churches, why may he not unite himself with ours, from which, I am sure, his principals and, I believe, his inclinations, are not greatly distant?" As to Du Pin, that "good old man," as Dr. Pusey called him, it is greatly to be regretted that his "Commonitorium," in which he set forth the terms of the proposed union, and examined in detail the Thirty-nine Articles, is not to be found. We gather, however, that there were only five Articles to which he made any objection. On the whole, we are not sure that the description which the Jesuit Lafiteau gave of the project is not the truest, although it does so greatly shock Mr. Lupton. He calls it an "abominable complot. . . . L'Apostasie

n'eut jamais rien de plus criminel." Is this too strong language for a project which, in order to unite two opposing religions, proposed to drop their differences as things of no moment? Mr. Lupton says (though we must say that the quotations he gives do *not* prove this point) "the modifications of ritual and doctrine he (Girardin) is prepared to accept are striking. The use of images, prayers to saints, communion of the laity under one species only, *papal supremacy*, elevation of the Host, are all things which he says may be regarded as non-essential"* (p. 60). After this, one is not surprised to find the doctors were not shocked, but apparently pleased, with Wake's glowing pangyrics of Henry VIII., who "*Coronæ imperiali regni nostri suum suprematum, episcopatus suam auctoritatem, ecclesiæ suam libertatem (!) restituit, vel eo solum nomine semper cum honore memorandus*" (p. 67): or that Girardin calls the Procureur-Général, M. Joly de Fleury "*virum divinitus oblatum*," though he was a cleric who married, but secretly, in order to preserve his canonry at Notre Dame and other benefices (p. 62), or that in a discourse delivered before the Sorbonne, the same Doctor spoke of the unhappy inhabitants of our island who lie in the darkness—*not of heresy*—but of the delusion that "we French Catholics hold for dogmas of the faith whatever the Pope may please to assert" (p. 53).

Mr. Lupton, though naturally an advocate of nationalism in religion, writes on the whole with much fairness and acumen. He admits fully (though of course with some qualifications) the great fact of the regeneration of the Church in France, of the wonderful increase in power, influence, and saintliness since she emerged from the purifying waters of the great Revolution, and gives a very fair picture of the effects of the "Gallican liberties."

"It is evident," he says (p. 18), "that the result of recent conflicts had been not so much to extend or consolidate its liberties as to give it a change of masters. What the Pope had surrendered, the King had gained." Exactly so; emancipation from the "tyranny of Rome" invariably means slavery to the civil power. In one point, however, we must make a protest—*i.e.*, to his endorsing the extraordinary canard that the Franco-German war was due to the Pope and the Jesuits (p. 131).

To sum up this book in the author's own words: "Those who admit no possibility of union in the Church of Christ except through submission to the See of Rome, will, of course, point with triumph to the

* The term *Transubstantiation* was also to be dropped. As for the Pope they were willing "Se passer du Pape, et n'avoir plus ni commerce avec lui ni égard pour ses décisions."

result of the whole transaction, as one more instance of the failure of all attempts to shake the immovable rock of Peter" (p. 106).

B. C.

The Holy Catholic Church. By Father BERNARD VAUGHAN, S.J., with a Preface by His Eminence CARDINAL VAUGHAN. John Heywood, Deansgate and Ridgefield, Manchester. Pp. 359.

HIS Eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop, in the Preface which he has contributed, describes as follows the nature of the lectures which this book contains, and the occasion which gave rise to them :

The ten lectures contained within these covers on *The Holy Catholic Church* are controversial, explanatory, and historical. They were called for by attacks made upon the doctrines of the Church by no less able an exponent and champion of Anglicanism than the present Bishop of Manchester. The Bishop believed he was discharging a grave duty when he began his English episcopate with a charge against the Catholic Church, and when, on subsequent occasions, he returned to the assault. Learned and versed in the literature of Protestant controversy, deeply and sincerely pledged to the cause to which his mind and life have been consecrated, vigorous and outspoken in his maintenance of the great Protestant traditions of this country, the deliberate utterances of one so cultivated and high placed could not be passed over for ever in silence. Hence these lectures. I trust that they will serve the cause of truth.

That these lectures will serve the cause of truth there is, indeed, every reason to believe. We all know of the enthusiasm with which they were received by the vast audiences who were privileged to hear them, when they were delivered in the Free Trade Hall of Manchester. Possibly this enthusiasm may have been in some part due to those gifts of voice and manner for which Fr. Vaughan is justly famous. But however this may be, the lectures are so good as to stand in little need of external and merely oratorical advantages. There is a homeliness and directness about them that will please the ordinary reader, and a wealth of historical learning, combined with a force and cogency of argument, that will at once gratify and convince the serious student. We trust that these lectures will have a very wide circulation, for we are certain that wherever they go they will do great service to the cause of truth and of Christian unity.

Institutiones Theologicæ in usum Scholarum. Auctore G. BERNARDO TEPE, S.J. Volumen Tertium. Parisiis: Sump-tibus P. Lethielleux, Editoris, 10 via dicta "Cassette." Pp. 780.

WE have not been able to read this volume, which contains treatises on grace, the theological virtues, and the Incarnate word, as thoroughly as we should like ; but, if the portion we have hastily glanced through is as good as the portion we have found time to carefully study, and our hurried inspection leads us to believe that this is the case, this volume is, in our opinion, an extremely valuable addition to the best works of dogmatic theology that are already in use. Fr. Tepe does not crowd his pages with numerous passages of Scripture and lengthy extracts from the Fathers which could not possibly be carried away, or at least be long retained, by the student, and which can always be found in any ordinary text-book of theology. He is scholastic rather than positive in his method, and when he quotes a writer it is frequently rather because the quotation contains an argument than because it expresses the writer's mind. But, though scholastic in his method, Fr. Tepe does not belong to what is commonly, and, we believe, rightly known as the Thomistic school. The Thomists, so-called, will dissent from many of Fr. Tepe's conclusions, and still more will they be at variance with him when he attempts to prove that, in support of those conclusions, he has the authority of St. Thomas Aquinas. But even when they reject his conclusions they will be bound to admit that there is considerable force in his arguments. Altogether Fr. Tepe's volume seems to us to provide a model text-book on the treatises that have been named. It provides ample matter for the professor to lecture on, and so concisely and yet clearly is the matter presented, so excellently is it ordered, that the student should have little difficulty in mastering the volume.

Voltaire et Le Voltairianisme. Par M. NOURRISSON, Membre de l'Institut. Paris: P. Lethielleux, Libraire-Éditeur, 10 Rue Cassette. Pp. 671.

IN this just and powerful estimate of Voltaire as a man and a writer, M. Nourrisson shows with what little ground certain recent French publicists have attempted to characterise the eighteenth century as the century of Voltaire. To impose his name upon a century, it is not sufficient for a man to reflect in his person or his writings the characteristics of that age. He must by his influence have determined its direction and decided its character. But no man can do this unless he be, in some respects at least, a great man. Voltaire, as M. Nourrisson

conclusively shows, was very far from being a great man. He was a courtier, a flatterer, an egotist. He had no concern save for his own personal interests. Surely there is no grandeur of character here. He was not even a great writer. A master of style he may indeed have been, for the expression which he gave to his thoughts was brilliant enough, but not a great writer, for his thoughts were superficial. His thoughts had a worse characteristic than even that of superficiality: they were inconsistent. There was scarcely a question of moment agitated during his day, on which Voltaire did not express conflicting views; just as there is scarcely a single subject which humanity reveres that he did not, at one or other time, turn into ridicule, and treat as a mere theme for buffoonery and obscenity. All this is very clearly shown by M. Nourrisson, whose very able criticism will go far, we believe, towards undeceiving those who have been misled by the exaggerated praise bestowed on Voltaire by M. Thiers, and other well-known French writers.

The Devotion to the Heart of Jesus, with an Introduction on the History of Jansenism. By the late JOHN BERNARD DALGAIRNS, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. Sixth edition. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1896. Pp. 237.

ALL the devotions of the Church are founded upon her doctrines. To the extent to which this is realised, to that extent will the practice of devotions be vigorous and fruitful. Whoever then has had success in showing the doctrinal side of devotion has deserved well of the faithful. Few have had greater success in this respect than the late Father Dalgaيرns. His classical work on devotion to the Sacred Heart, a copy from the sixth edition of which is now lying before us, is too well-known to need any further commendation. But it may be useful to state that the present edition is issued in excellent type, on good paper, and is neatly and tastefully bound.

Meditations on the Gospels for Every Day in the Year. Translated from the French of PÈRE MÉDAILLE, S.J., edited by the Rev. WILLIAM H. EYRE, S.J. New Edition. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1896. Pp. 495.

THIS is unquestionably one of the best books of Meditation that we know. The meditations are short, simple, solid, and suggestive, in other words, they possess all the characteristics that we look for in

private meditations; but, unfortunately, very rarely find there. "Médaille" has long been known and valued on the Continent. There it has passed through nearly forty editions, but it is only recently that it has appeared in an English dress. That the book approves itself to English piety is sufficiently clear from the fact that in a very short space of time the first edition was exhausted. We have no difficulty in believing that the same good fortune will attend the present edition. Such of our readers as do not yet know "Médaille" will feel grateful to us for having brought so valuable a work before their notice.

The Christian Inheritance, set forth in Sermons. By the Right Rev. JOHN CUTHBERT HEDLEY, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport. London: Burns & Oates. Pp. 430.

THIS new volume comes before us without Preface or Introduction, so that we are left to ourselves to discover its direct purpose and argument. It consists of some twenty-two sermons, preached on various occasions, and in different times and places. They stand in need of no praise from us. To say that they were composed and prepared for publication by the learned Bishop of Newport is to say that they are full of holy and practical thoughts, well and beautifully expressed, and in good, fresh, and vigorous English.

Although each discourse is whole and complete in itself, yet we seem to detect a certain definite sequence and plan in their selection and arrangement. Thus the opening sermon on "Revelation" disposes the mind and throws it into a disposition to listen with greater attention and interest to the second sermon on "Mystery," while this, in its turn, by lifting up the mind and heart to the supernatural, with all its unfathomable heights and depths, carries us on to welcome with greater relish that "Science of God" which forms the subject-matter of the third sermon. Having reached thus far, we are in a fair position to be taught "The Way to Believe," and how we are to receive and revere "The Word of God"—titles of sermons fourth and fifth.

Thus page after page we are led on to learn more and more of that "Christian Inheritance," the knowledge of which has been handed down to us by Saints and Fathers, and Doctors, and Preachers, and by the ministry of Popes, Bishops, and Priests in all ages of the Church's history, to the present day.

As a specimen of Bishop Hedley's method and style let us take the following passage from his sermon on "Christ Knoweth Us":

When I look at my own life and ask myself, as at times the heart does

ask, if any one cares for me or sympathises with me, I can comfort and strengthen myself in a way that no human invention could ever have brought to pass. For I can say, not only that God knows my lot and trouble, but that God feels for me! If my history has had some dark places, there were dark places in the history of my Lord and Saviour. If my spirit has been weighed down by trouble, so has His. If my nerves have throbbled with pain, so have His. If my heart has suffered anguish, so has His. If I have had to face the up-hill work of life, to force myself to hold myself in, to struggle on against temptation—Jesus has felt such things. Not that He has been tempted, as we are sometimes, by the rising of rebellious passions. But the spiritual effect of trial and temptation he has deigned to feel. Although the shadow of sin never came near Him, yet the anguishes and repugnances of human nature were known to Him. Therefore not only does He know, but He feels with us. If we ask our own experience, we observe how much more strongly we feel for others in those things which we ourselves have passed through. . . . Those who have suffered hunger and want know what it is when they meet with the poor and the destitute. Those who have lost husband, or wife, or child, have a very ready pity for others who are similarly tried and visited. You may know things and you may reason on them, but nothing stirs your heart like personal experience; nothing teaches you like the stings and the half-healed scars of adversity; nothing opens the heart and the affections to interest, to kindness, and to active charity, so effectually as the memory of your own sufferings and sorrows. But with Jesus, how all this was intensified! A pure heart, unclouded by the passion which makes men so selfish; a heart, not torn with ambitions, but serene and holy; a heart which was made and formed to compassionate sinful men—what sympathy, what holy human feeling, would not stir it to its beauteous depths when He saw, in the lives of men, the clouds coming down which had come upon Himself, the pain which He Himself had felt and the sorrows—even though they were far lighter than His own—which all men must taste in their turn! (pp. 120, 121.)

Here is another passage from the sermon entitled “Faith, Hope, and Charity,” which may help us still more in our effort to illustrate his lordship’s happy and interesting manner of presenting a doctrine:

Faith and Hope [he writes] have enlarged their sphere, as the eagle rises from his nest in the cliff to soar above the mountains and circle widely over seas and shores which less mighty wings could never attain. Faith and Hope, as supernatural gifts of God, dominate life more boundlessly in proportion as they are lifted above it. All the low, small, partial purposes of human life disappear, or become means to a grand end. Life is no longer a puzzle. The contrast between man’s greatness and his littleness finds its explanation. The difficulty about the inequalities and hardships of existence no longer exists. Poverty is the riches of the future; suffering is the pledge of the great inheritance. Prosperity and plenty are to be feared and distrusted; they are not the grand object of breathless and continuous struggle. Evil of every kind, abound as it may in human life, is doomed to be conquered at last; violence must die, the triumph of sin must cease, the hour of pride must pass away. Things may seem to move slowly, and the direction of existence may sometimes be difficult to understand; but all generations of time, all cycles of ages, are only one age to the Maker and Father; all movement, all change, all vicissitude, finds its explanation and completion below

the horizon—out of the sight of natural vision, but clearly seen by the eye of Faith. Death itself is no longer a barrier—no longer a dark impenetrable abyss where life and motion cease or are swallowed up. The land beyond the grave is all explored and mapped out in revelation: Faith can read its record. The grave itself is open and lightsome now, since the angels came and rolled the stone away from a grave on Calvary, and said: “Behold the place where they laid Him.” And the limitless land of eternity, with its plains and oceans, its rivers and mountains, seen by Faith and Hope, and seen, not indeed with absolute clearness, but with a solid and vivid reality which makes it almost a part of our very experience, causes this temporal world to shrink into littleness, and its interests to fade away into insignificance. . . . The Christian child, with no more learning than its catechism, with no other school than the altar-steps, by the power of Faith and Hope strives to follow Jesus and to prepare for eternity—a theory of life which Plato never rose to, and which Spencer does not know (pp. 147–148).

Some among these discourses, so rich in imagery and illustration, were preached ten or twelve years ago. There is one—an especially beautiful one, it appears to us—on “The Seven Spirits of God,” preached at the unveiling of the Angel-altar in the Church of St. Michael and All Angels, at Abergavenny, in 1883. From this we take perhaps the most striking and majestic description of an angel that we have ever met with in any book of sermons:

Each of us [remarks the bishop] may have some idea of an angel. It is probably a figure of youth and beauty, clad in a simple flowing robe, with strong, fair wings folded gently, with serene face and eyes of gentle love, and perhaps a majestic arm upraised for man’s protection. The figure is not false. Yet, if we could see them up there in Heaven where they are, it would seem a truer figure to say that an angel is a flash of the lightning of heaven. Bright light, fierce heat, tremendous power—this is what an angel is. . . . The activity of fire, its penetrating subtlety, its uncontrollable freedom, its irresistible power, the brilliancy of its moment of action—these are the qualities that make the Holy Scripture describe the angels as fire—as wheels of fire, as rivers of fire, as burning flames, as creatures full of fiery brightness. An angel is a soul without the prison of the body. He is so swift that space is annihilated before him. He is so strong that he rives the earth asunder, compels the clouds, holds the helm of the whirling tempest, lifts the ocean waters, guides the orbs of heaven, quells the demons, nay, almost penetrates the thoughts of the heart of man. His life is so living, so real, so true, that once again there is nothing to express the swiftness and the heat of his intellect and will, but the electric fire that darts from cloud to cloud, most terrible of the forces of the world (p. 371).

But we must resist the temptation to quote further, and leave the gentle reader to judge the book from the passages which we have selected as specimens of the whole.

L'Abandon à la Volonté de Dieu. Retraite de dix jours, d'après le Père ALEXANDRE PINY. Nouvelle édition. Par le Père M. A. CHARMOY. Paris: P. Lethielleux, Éditeur. Pp. xxviii.—382.

FATHER PINY, the pious author of this little treatise, lived some two hundred years ago, when the influence of Molinos and his disciples was agitating the religious world of France, and leading many into wrong and pernicious opinions on the question of the “pure love of God”—opinions favoured even by such learned and holy men as Fénelon himself, the Archbishop of Cambrai.

On November 20, 1687, the Church condemned the doctrine of Molinos, and in 1699 denounced a book by Fénelon, which seemed to enunciate similar doctrines.

Fr. Piny avoids the exaggerated and false teaching of Molinos, and points out that the true and perfect love of God consists in conforming our human wills with the Divine will in all things. How to bring about, in actual and daily life, this perfect union of the two wills, forms the very core and kernel of the whole book.

The matter is better than the manner. Like so many French books of piety, this volume is extremely diffuse, wordy, and spun out. All that is of real importance and utility in its four hundred pages might, with profit, have been condensed within fifty or a hundred. For the rest, it is a sound and practical treatise, and no one can thoughtfully ponder over the lessons taught in its ten chapters without feeling the better for the task. The very fact that this volume, which has lain dormant for so many years, is now put before the public again, is a sign that there is something in it to command attention and respect. The writer was a man of God, and full of the true apostolic spirit. Most of his life was passed teaching theology and Holy Scripture, and this fact may be regarded as a guarantee of his orthodoxy as well as of his learning and ability.

We have much pleasure in recommending the little volume to all those who are anxious for greater union with Our Lord.

1. **Historia Exercitiorum Spiritualium S. P. Ignatii de Loyola.** Collecta et concinnata a P. IGNATIO DIERTINS, S.J. Pp. 322.
2. **Meditationum et Contemplationum S. Ignatii de Loyola.** Puncta libri exercitiorum textum diligenter secutus explicavit FRANCISCUS DE HUMMELAUER, S.J. Friburgi Brisgoviae: sumptibus Herder. 1896. Pp. 435.

THESE two small volumes are published by Herder, and deal with the same subject-matter, only in very different ways. The first, which is a reprint of a book originally published in 1700 and then reprinted again in 1732, gives us a full account of the history and development of the "Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius." We learn from its lucid pages when and where and under what circumstances they were first composed, how they developed and took form, the use made of them by "The Society of Jesus" and the fruit they produced in countless souls. Not merely great and learned men, but even such glorious saints as St. Charles Borromeo, St. Francis of Sales, St. Mary Margaret of Pazzi and others, are heard testifying to the uses and advantages of these exercises in the volume before us.

The second work deals, not with the *history* of the exercises, but with the exercises themselves. Nearly fifty pages are spent in describing and discussing the connection between one meditation and another, and the relation between "meditation" proper, on the one hand, and true "contemplation," on the other. Then follow the various *Puncta*, *v.g.*: 1. Principium et fundamentum; 2. De triplici peccato; 3. De peccatis propriis; 4. De inferno; 5. De regno Christi; and so on through some fifty or sixty different subjects, as proposed by the famous founder of the Jesuits.

By way of illustration, let us select the meditation on the spirit of "Indifference." The meditation is divided as usual into three points. First point: *Debemus esse indifferentes*. This first point is explained and proved in various ways, and then comes the second point, *viz.*: *Non sumus indifferentes*. This thought is also enlarged upon and amplified, and finally we reach the third point of the meditation, *viz.*: *Debemus nos facere indifferentes*. The pious author persuades the devout reader of the truth of this conclusion, in the following words:

1. Facere nos indifferentes dicit extirpationem inclinationum et aversionum, quae in ipsis nostris cordibus *radices* fixerunt. Imaginare plantam, quae radices undequaque solo inseruit; imaginare ingratum talis plantae eradicandae laborem gleba revulsa; et cogita tales plantas esse inordinatas tuas affectiones, et solum, in quo radices fixerint, esse ipsum tuum vivens et sentiens cor. Facere nos indifferentes, dicit pugnam perennem contra inimicum semper vigilem, naturam scil: nostram vitiatam, in qua

igitur vulnera a nobis adversario inflictâ ipsi sentiamus; pugnam internam ideoque ab hominum observatione et laude remotam.

2. Necesse esse facere nos indifferentes, quia, si non fecerimus nos indifferentes, non erimus indifferentes; si non erimus indifferentes, non servabimus regulam finis; si regulam finis non servabimus abutemur creaturis, erimus servi nequam, non salvabimur. Necesse est, ergo possibile est, nam volentibus Deus dabit gratiam. Necesse est, ergo hoc neglecto vera pax, neque in mortali vita, inveniri poterit.

3. Necesse est, *ergo fiat*; ergo sine mora fiat, nam omni mora vitiosæ propensiones augescunt; ergo perseveranter fiat, non enim est opus unius diei eas evellere; ergo universaliter fiat, non enim proderit uni propensioni restitisse, si alteram stulte foveris; ergo, ordinate fiat, ope *examinis particularis*.

Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages. By G. HAREN PUTNAM, A.M. Vol. I. 476-1600. New York: Putnam's Sons. 1876.

THIS is the first volume of a work on a very interesting subject. It is produced in the best possible style of printing, on excellent paper, and when completed by the General Index, which is promised with the second volume, it cannot fail to be of great use to the student of mediæval book-making. On every page the volume affords evidence of the author's researches into the literature of his subject. He has been at considerable trouble to collect his facts and he has given the result of his studies in as readable a form as was possible, considering the nature of the materials at his disposal. He has restricted himself to printed authorities and makes no profession whatever of any original research in the region of the manuscripts themselves. Consequently he has very little, if anything, to tell us about book-making in its truest sense, by which is to be understood the preparation of the parchment and inks, the distribution of the work of copying among the various scribes, the method of ruling the parchment, and of indicating to the rubricator the words, or headings, or figures, that had been left for him to fill in, and many other similar matters by which the practical work of the scriptorium in the making of a book was regulated. There is very little also about the book-binding branch of book-making, but as far as it goes Mr. Putnam's volume is a very welcome addition to the rather small literature on this subject, and is a very great advance on Mr. Willis-Clarke's small volume, which he quotes a good deal. The present portion of the work is mainly devoted to the period of manuscripts; the last part, however, introduces the reader to the first beginnings of the art of printing, and to many people this will, we fancy, be quite the most interesting portion of the volume. The vast mass of details, some of which, perhaps inevitably, are

made to do duty more than once, of necessity prevent the book being very attractive reading. It is rather a book to consult by any one interested in the subject, for Mr. Putnam has gathered together what previous writers have to tell us on this subject. Considerable additions, it is true, might be made in many sections, as for example, the author might, when speaking of the "Literary Monks of England," have told us about the *codex amiatinus* prepared in the Scriptorium at Wearmouth and its subsequent history. We should like to have added a good deal also about the work of the English book-makers at St. Albans, and about the books brought to England by St. Theodore. Moreover, we have always a rooted objection to the modern fashion of prefixing an elaborate *Bibliography* to a book. It looks learned and is calculated to impress people with the breadth of the author's reading. It has, however, one use which we did not suspect. It is obviously easy to insert a great number of books in the *Bibliography* which have never been seen or consulted, and it is, to our mind, absurd to insert such works as Dugdale's "Monasticon" in a list; but what are we to say to the quotation of the titles of small tracts as if they were large works of more than one volume and *vice versa*? It rather seems to show that the works have not always really been consulted at all, but the quotations have been made second-hand. The *Bibliography* prefixed to this volume by the author includes more than one instance of these unpleasantly suggestive mistakes.

Catholic Truth Society, and other Publications. London: 18 West Square, S.E.

THE batch of books sent to us for notice this quarter is chiefly of a devotional cast—prayers, meditations, hymns, novenas—suited to many minds and various feasts, every kind of devotional taste being provided for in these most useful publications. There is a little "Manual of St. Anthony," by Benziger; "A Book for Exposition," compiled by Canon Connolly; "Chaplets for the Saints," by A. Sewell; and a commendable combination of Instructions and Devotions, by Rev. F. D. Byrne, fitly named "Prayers for the People." This last is a welcome attempt to provide popular prayers written in genuine English, as distinct from the hybrid translation of foreign idioms and ideas to which we are so often treated. F. Byrne's experience having shown him that many of the usual prayer-phrases convey little or no significance to the untutored mind, he has not hesitated to abandon the ordinary phraseology, and to use "You" instead of "Thee," for instance,

in addressing Almighty God. The Cardinal's *Imprimatur* shows that plenty of freedom is allowed in unofficial prayers, at least. The only advantage of most of the foreign devotions popularised amongst us is that they are often richly indulged, and a literal translation is supposed to be requisite to carry these indulgences. Considering the spread of the English language in many lands, it ought not to be difficult to obtain equally great favours for original English prayers, which would better express the idiosyncracies of English devotion, and would not offend by foreign and far-fetched sentiments.

Father Bridgett has collected some beautiful Poems—hymns bearing on the reunion of England with Christendom—laying under contribution for the purpose several of our chief hymn-writers, such as Cardinal Newman, Miss Procter, F. F. Caswall, Faber, &c.

The collected publications of the C.T.S. have now reached to Volume XXVIII., the Library of Catholic Tales to Number XXII., with an excellent little story entitled "The Rock of Ages." In "Another Mexican Myth," F. Thurston provides us with one more useful exposition of Protestant fables. Altogether, the C.T.S. is carrying on its good work for the defence and exposition of Catholic Truth.

J. I. C.

Tan-Ho: A Tale of Travel and Adventure. By S. T. CROOK.
New York: Benziger Brothers. London: Burns & Oates (Ld.).
3s. 6d.

IT is desirable that English-speaking Catholics should have a sound literature, even in the department of travel and adventure, and that the great Catholic houses should publish books worthy of the name at the foot of the title-page. With this hope in mind we opened this volume, and complete was our disappointment. The book narrates the travels of a young, wealthy, and highly-cultured French count. He roams through North and South America, China, Japan, and the Malay Islands, and we naturally thought that, before putting this finish to his education, he had traversed Europe, but, on a very early page, we learn that, although the nephew of a Cardinal, he had never been in Italy. The Cardinal is not the only distinguished uncle claimed by the Count. In India, his uncle, a baron, is a highly successful Nabob at Calcutta and Agra. In California he finds an uncle, a millionaire judge, who has a magnificent house with servants "in livery of magenta, velvet edged with black braid," and conservatories in which the gardeners work at night (p. 25), and forests in which the keepers,

with gun on shoulder, sing in a sonorous voice songs about St. Anthony and the Thebaid.

The departure from California is a fine bit of description. We read of the harbour of San Francisco with

the great steamers looming in the shadowy distance, and ever and anon sending forth their shrill, weird signals and harsh grating cries, as if rejoicing, like the wild asses of Arabia, in their desert home.

The resemblance between a wild ass in the desert and an ocean steamer moored stem-and-stern in the roads of San Francisco would not have occurred to us if the author had not pointed it out. The Count goes on board one of these wild-ass steamers.

Farewell words were spoken. The majestic ship seemed for a few moments as if wading in the water. Then, plunging into the deep, it made its last bow to the shore and to the vessels riding at anchor, passed through the Golden Gate, and was soon bounding on the waste of the wide Pacific.

Doubtless it is well to maintain an analogy, but when the author first compares a steamer to an ass, and then describes it as wading in the bay, the rule is too carefully followed.

After that point was passed we fairly revelled in impossibilities. The Count arrives in China, and apparently puts up for a month or two in the house of a Chinese merchant. Meanwhile, for no reason that we can see, the California millionaire judge goes to France, and starts from Paris by an evening train to call, without previous notice, on an old schoolfellow in the country. Of course he arrives at the château at dead of night, when all the doors were barred and the inmates had retired, but his friend's banner was floating in the breeze at the top of an ivy-clad tower, and by a lamp suspended outside he read the motto on the escutcheon over the doorway, so he knew that he had come to the right house, and knocked until they let him in. The scene then suddenly changes to the coast of China, where a Jesuit missionary is in prison. Two women release him from his cell, and he swims to a boat and rows away. When midnight comes, he remarks that it is the hour when the weary traveller of the frigid zones gazes on the polar star. Why the author puts zones in the plural, and why the polar star is more visible at midnight than at any other hour we know not. The priest feels hungry with rowing, so goes ashore and looks for a cocoanut palm. "Cutting the fruit of the tall palm, he sat within the cavernous trunk of an oak to eat the kernel and drink the watery cream." How he got at the fruit, or how he broke it open when he had got it, is not explained. Morning breaks, and as he stands on the shore a ship approached the coast. The ship lowered a boat, which "rode out to

sea" and "was impelled towards him." This contradiction is too much for Father Felix. He faints and recovers consciousness, to find himself "in the luxurious cabin of a revenue cutter." The priest is put on shore at a Malay port, and walks up to a mission-house, where his four colleagues exclaim, "Welcome home again!" Apparently Chinese or Malay is all the same. Next we come upon a Scottish Quaker residing for his health on a Malay island, with a gipsy son whom he had adopted and had educated as an artist. When we had read so far, the thought occurred to us that this utterly impossible book may be intended to sketch the troubled dream of an opium-eater; but we abandoned that idea, because in a dream people talk brilliantly, and the talk of characters in this book is feeble beyond description. We come upon conversational gems, such as

"I suppose there are many forests in India?" said Eric to the General.

"Oh, yes," was the reply, "and jungles."

"I have observed," said Eric, "that darkness almost immediately succeeds day in tropical climates."

"Yes, sir," said the guide, "there is hardly any twilight."

We think that if the publishers are to maintain their reputation, they will do well to avoid productions so utterly inane as this is.

G. T. M.

Le Cardinal Manning. Par FRANCIS DE PRESSENSÉ. Paris : Perrin et Cie. 1896.

THIS work is both defensive and offensive. A Frenchman, and a Frenchman brought up a Protestant, under a father who used to be spoken of as the "Protestant Montalembert," has been the first champion to defend at any length the character of that great English convert from Protestantism, Cardinal Manning, from a notorious onslaught which had been made upon it. No one well acquainted with the work and conduct of Cardinal Manning would consider that M. de Pressensé has exaggerated his panegyric. Well might he say of him : "*Ecce sacerdos magnus ; voila une âme vraiment sacerdotale !*" and enlarge upon his long and earnest search for the truth, his heroic sacrifice of everything that is most dear to man when he had found it, and his zeal in entering the threshold of the infallible Church and prostrating himself at the feet of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. M. de Pressensé divides his life into two parts, Anglican and Catholic, and, if there be few details in either which have not been already recorded in Mr. Purcell's bulky volumes, the facts are presented in a very different light, and very different are the inferences drawn from them.

Much as we like M. de Pressensé's book as a whole, and valuable as we consider it to be, we must admit that his English readers, Catholic as well as Protestant, are not unlikely to stumble occasionally in the course of it.

For instance, all will not agree with him when he accuses Cardinal Newman of "malhonnêteté," and declares that he lost his sense of the realities of life in the artificial atmosphere to which he restricted himself. Nor will they be pleased at its being said of Newman that he was the idol of a guest-chamber, and intoxicated with flattery. Little better will they like the sentence: "Entre l'archevêque infallibiliste et l'oratorien infallible, les bonnes relations étaient difficiles." Objectors, however, should remember that, until further evidence appears, the relations between the two great English Cardinals present great difficulties to a biographer, and we feel certain that if M. de Pressensé has exhibited any unfairness towards Cardinal Newman, it has not been intentional.

So much for the defence, which, we think, will eventually prove the most valuable portion of the book; and now for the attack, which, just at present, is likely to excite a keener interest. Like the book, the attack may be divided into two parts, one against a body of men, the other against an individual. Having shown that the old Protestant principle of the Bible, and the Bible only, has palpably failed in the presence of modern criticism, since the reader who formerly contented himself with believing every word he found in his Bible to be inspired, now asks himself whether this passage be genuine, whether this text contains the actual words of Jesus or a mere imperfect recollection of them, and whether such an expression stood in the original manuscript, or was the error or the interpretation of a scribe? The author goes on to inquire whether there be a body of men divinely and continuously appointed to explain the Bible and to define the Christian dogmas. If there be such a body what is it? Is it the very modern Church in which Cardinal Manning was brought up? Or is it a Church that has stood unmoved through all the eighteen Christian centuries, with its unbroken apostolic succession, under the Chair of Peter, and its triple endowment of unity, authority, and perpetuity? M. de Pressensé further inquires whether the divinely appointed teacher may possibly exist in the pseudo-Protestantism combined with pseudo-Catholicism of the English Ritualists, that is to say, "l'anglicanisme de lord Halifax, de suivre une *via media* à égale distance de Rome et de Genève." M. de Pressensé's replies to these questions will be found to be of very great interest. As to the action of Anglicans towards the Catholic Church, he says there are but two courses open: "se soumettre ou se combattre;" and he does not hesitate to speak very plainly about

the "various illusions" of certain Reunionists. The Anglicans avowedly separated themselves from the Catholic Church and manufactured a new Church, three hundred years ago, on the ground that "Rome" taught "errors." Rome remains the same; unless, therefore, the Anglican Church has completely changed and become a yet newer Church, she still condemns those "errors"; and all who remain Anglicans likewise implicitly condemn them. On the contrary, all who profess to believe in Catholic doctrines have but one course open to them, namely, to submit themselves to the One Church "*dont le centre est à Rome.*" As to "artificial reconciliations and unnatural alliances," such things are "hallucinations."

We now come to the second part of the attack, which is directed against the author of a previous biography of Cardinal Manning. Since Macaulay's criticism of Croker's edition of Boswell's "Johnson," none has been more severe, nor has any review that we can remember been fuller of invective, than M. de Pressensé's biography in its denunciations of Purcell's. Its author, he says, is a "so-called Catholic," writing with "instinctive malevolence," and guilty of an "odious falsification." His faculty "for committing errors is phenomenal." His biography "is not only a bad book; it is a bad action." His style "oscillates between bombast and vulgarity." "Nearly all his pages are covered with countless errors." And so on, and so on. It is unnecessary that we should follow M. de Pressensé throughout his literary castigation of Mr. Purcell at the cart's tail. Our own opinion of that English author's biography of Cardinal Manning has already been expressed in this Review, and we may leave it to Mr. Purcell himself to decide whether "they do these things better in France."

Reviews in Brief.

The Outlaw of Camargue. By A. de LAMOTHE. Translated by ANNA T. SADLER. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1896.—The slender but graceful plot of "The Outlaw of Camargue" serves as the connecting link between the descriptions of southern Provençal life, to which the volume owes a more enduring interest than that of merely fictitious narrative. The weird delta-land of the Rhône, with its salt marshes and desolate stony plains, roamed by semi-wild cattle and horses, has a romance of its own, first revealed in the poem which forms the foundation of Gounod's opera "Mireille." With many other characteristics of the African desert, it also possesses that of being ravaged by swarms of locusts so formidable in size and number that companies of soldiers are sometimes sent to take the field against them, and their assault on a town resembles that of an army. The wild herdsmen of Camargue, and their feats of prowess in branding the young bulls, in the sort of annual tournament called a *ferrade*, is vividly described, as is also the pilgrimage to the celebrated Provençal shrine of the Saintes Maries near Aigues Mortes.

The Truth of Thought; or, Material Logic. By WILLIAM POLAND, Professor of Rational Philosophy in St. Louis University. New York, Boston, Chicago: Silver, Burdett & Co., Publishers. 1896. Pp. 208.—In an earlier number of the DUBLIN REVIEW we had an opportunity of introducing to our readers the very excellent treatise of Mr. Poland on the "Laws of Thought; or, Formal Logic." Mr. Poland has now provided us with a treatise on the "Truth of Thought; or, Material Logic." All that we said in commendation of the earlier treatise may be said with equal truth of the present treatise. Mr. Poland exhibits once more his capacity for saying much on a difficult subject in very few words, without, in the least, sacrificing clearness to brevity. The "Truth of Thought" is at once a most informing and a most readable little book.

La Chronique de Nantes publiée avec une Introduction et des Notes. Par RENÉ MERLET, Archiviste d'Eure et Loir. Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, Editeurs, 82 Rue Bonaparte. 1896. Pp. 165.—In 1886 a Society was established in France for the purpose

of publishing various ancient documents that were likely to be of service in the study and teaching of history. Amongst the documents already published by this Society are works by Gregory of Tours, Gerbert, Raoul Ylaber, Suger, and Galbert of Bruges. The Society's latest publication is "*La Chronique de Nantes*," the work of an anonymous author who flourished, according to Martène, in the twelfth century. This document is of considerable value, inasmuch as almost all the information we possess concerning the history of Brittany in the tenth century is derived from it. M. Merlet, to whom the task of editing the "*Chronicle*" has been entrusted, has added many elucidatory notes, and has contributed a long and interesting introduction.

Prédestinée. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1896.—This is a gracefully written memoir of a beautiful and a charming character, and no clue is given to the name of its subject or the name of its author. Edifying in her life and edifying in her early death, a holy and a talented girl is described with much affection and even more admiration, in a style which perhaps certain matter-of-fact Englishmen would call "a little French;" but it may be none the worse for that. Protestant biographies of pious children have unfortunately made the child, "who is too good to live" a bye-word in this island, and they have represented dying young to be the inevitable consequence of virtue.

We warn English readers that they ought resolutely to put this British prejudice away from them, before taking up "*Prédestinée*;" and we will go further and say that, be his criticisms and his reservations what they may, we pity the man who could read it without some pleasure or some profit.

Books Received.

- The Divine Redeemer and His Church.** Rev. E. Douglass, C.S.S.R. London: Catholic Truth Society, 8vo. pp. 732.
- An Introduction to Theology.** Alfred Cave, D.D. Second Edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 8vo. pp. 610.
- Rome and England, Ecclesiastical Continuity.** Rev. Luke Rivington, M.A. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 193.
- Richard Rolle of Hampole.** (Library of Early English Writers). Edited by C. Horstman. Vol. II. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 8vo. pp. 458.
- The Road to Reunion.** Two Lectures by Rev. H. Lucas, S.J. Cardiff Catholic Repository. 8vo, pp. 28.
- The Month of May at Mary's Altar.** From the French. Rev. Th. Ward. New York: Benziger Bros. 8vo, pp. 251.
- L'Église et la France. XIV^e. Centenaire du Baptême des Francs.** L'abbé R. Planeix. Paris: P. Lethielleux. 8vo, pp. 56.
- Lectures for Boys.** Rev. F. C. Doyle, O.S.B. Vol. I. (Second Edition). London: R. Washbourne. 8vo, pp. 543.
- Oxford English Dictionary.** Dr. James H. Murray. Vol. IV. (Disburdened Flexuose). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Spiritual Poems.** John Gray. London: Hacon & Ricketts. 8vo, pp. 93.
- Histoire Naturelle Pittoresque.** De la Blanchère. Paris: Téqui. 8vo, pp. 364.
- Studies in Dante.** Edward Moore, D.D. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. 396.
- Les Révolutions d'Autrefois.** A. Genevay. Paris: Téqui. 8vo, pp. 300.
- The Wizard's Lute.** G. Gresswell. London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh. 8vo, pp. 192.
- The Straw - Cutter's Daughter.** From the French. Lady Georgiana Fullerton. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 237.
- Les Alpes.** Histoire et Souvenirs. Xavier Roux. Paris: Téqui. 8vo, pp. 268.
- Catholic Truth Society Publications and Report, 1895-6.** London: Catholic Truth Society Depot, 18 West Square.

- The Science of the Spiritual Life.** Rev. J. Clare, S.J. London: Art & Book Co. 8vo, pp. 475.
- The Reign of Perfection.** Walter Sweetman, B.A. London: Digby, Long & Co. 8vo, pp. 139.
- Collatio Codicis Lewisiani Rescripti Evangeliorum Sacrorum Syriacorum cum Codice Curetoniano.** Auctore Alberto Bonus, A.M. Oxonii: E. Prelo Clarendoniano. 4to, pp. 94.
- Dictionnaire Générale de la Langue Française.** M.M. A. Hatzfeld, A. Darmsteter, A. Thomas. Paris: C. Delgrave. Fasc. 18.
- Carmel in India.** Catholic Missions. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 128.
- Jean François Millet.** Julia Cartwright (Mrs. Henry Ady). Illustrated. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Large 8vo, pp. 396.
- A Life Struggle.** Lady Herbert. London: Catholic Truth Society Depôt. 8vo, pp. 92.
- Memories of My Pilgrimage to the Holy Land.** By M. M. London: Art & Book Co. Pp. 92.
- Here and Abroad.** Notes on Tour for Untravelled Readers. W. Morgan. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 130.
- History of English Law.** By Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart., M.A., and William Maitland, LL.D. Cambridge: University Press. 2 Vols. Large 8vo, pp. 678-683.
- The End of Religious Controversy.** By Bishop Milner. A New Edition by Rev. Luke Rivington, M.A. London: Catholic Truth Society, 18 West Square. 8vo, pp. 484.
- A History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland.** Written in 1824-1827 by William Cobbett. A New Edition, revised with Notes and Preface by Very Rev. F. A. Gasquet, D.D., O.S.B. London: Art & Book Co. 8vo, pp. 406.
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